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Contents

The Week 93

Editorials

Lining Up in Europe 95
Borah as a Candidate 97
Death All Day 98

General Articles

Peace for America ..... Charles A. Beard 100
Mussolini and the Workers ..... Paul H. Douglas 103
Dusty Death ..... Vito Marcantonio 105
The People vs. Hearst ..... Ruben Levin 106
New England (verse) ..... John Peale Bishop 107
Washington Notes ..... T. R. B. 108
Other People's Money ..... John T. Flynn 109
Mr. Baxter and Mr. Ford ..... Otis Ferguson 110

Correspondence 111

Mr. Behrman's Play ..... Stark Young 113

Books in Review

Homage to Ancestors ..... Malcolm Cowley 114
Liberalism's Family Tree ..... Kenneth Burke 115
The Way of an Adventurer ..... Frances Valensi 116
The Problem of Race ..... Melville J. Herskovits 116
Dennis' Desirable Fascism ..... Matthew Josephson 117
Books in Brief 118

The Week

LEFTIST forces in Spain definitely emerged with a parliamentary majority as late returns from the general election came in, and former Premier Manuel Azaña formed a new government to replace the stop-gap Portela ministry. A threatened fascist coup was prevented when two high-ranking generals were transferred to remote posts and the rank and file of the army remained loyal to the incoming government. A week of demonstrations and rejoicing reached its climax with a proclamation of general amnesty releasing an estimated 30,000 political prisoners. Italian armies under General Badoglio made further advances in Ethiopia, following upon the victory announced last week, and it was thought in some circles that these developments had so improved Mussolini's diplomatic position that renewed negotiations for a pro-Italian settlement might be brought into the open in Europe. German diplomats spent a busy week, seemingly directing the bulk of their attentions toward improved relations with Poland and a possible alliance with Italy, meanwhile placating Central and South American countries. The new provisional government in Paraguay, headed by Colonel Rafael Franco, was to withdraw that country's representatives from negotiations for settlement of the Chaco war. Paraguay's new rulers want more severe terms imposed upon Bolivia.

RELATIONS with the Soviet Union were a point of interest in many countries during the week. Members of the French Chamber of Deputies engaged in stormy debate over the question of ratifying the mutual-assistance pact with the Soviets, with indications that the pact eventually would be ratified in spite of Rightists who once supported the agreement but now vociferously oppose any "alliance with communism." In the same week a Communist was elected to fill the seat in the French Senate recently vacated by former Premier Laval and thus became the second member of the Communist Party holding a seat in the upper house. Considerable significance was attached to negotiations between the Soviet Union and Japan over the question of appointing a commission to investigate the recent armed clashes along the border between Outer Mongolia and Manchukuo. Mere participation in the negotiations, which as yet have shown no decisive results, was regarded as tantamount to an avowal of Soviet interest in Outer Mongolia, a fact that hitherto has never been admitted officially. In Japan itself the general elections resulted in victory for the existing government, as was expected, but the real news was the surprising gain registered by the workers' parties in a generally listless election. The Social Democrats gained eighteen seats and other proletarian parties five, thus giving the Left a total representation of twenty-three seats in the Diet, as compared with the former total of three seats.

THREE essential items on the President's list of "must" legislation, the farm bill, the neutrality bill and the independent-offices bill, have gone through the House and Senate and as we write are in conference to reconcile minor differences before being presented to the President for signature. The next major item on the administration program is a tax bill, which is scheduled to be introduced this week. Most Congressmen are in favor of a light tax bill in this election year, but Senator Byrd of the reaction-

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at once for some of the emergency expenditures of the depression years. The House voted to make an inquiry into the whole subject of old-age-pension schemes, with special reference to the Townsend plan and to charges of fraud in the financial management of the campaign for it. Representative Bell, of Missouri, heads a bi-partisan committee of eight to conduct the inquiry. After listening to testimony about the practices of American business men in supplying arms to South American revolutionists and the sale of surplus army weapons as "scrap metal" to private parties, the Senate Munitions Committee brought its activities officially to a close. One immediate result was the adoption by the Senate of a bill making it a crime for anyone but licensed dealers to ship firearms and ammunition in either interstate or foreign commerce. One of the main objectives of the Nye committee, to demonstrate the need for a strong, permanent neutrality bill, reached its inconclusive end in the mere extension of the temporary neutrality resolution, with an amendment prohibiting new loans to belligerents after war has started.

OWEN D. YOUNG, in an address at Rollins College, has called for greater temperance in political speeches over the radio, citing as specific bad examples Alfred E. Smith, Herbert Hoover and Senator Joseph T. Robinson. We hope Mr. Young's remarks do not presage any shadow of censorship, but at the same time we think they reflect pretty accurately a widespread popular revulsion against the superheated charges that have characterized the opening of the presidential campaign year. Signs are accumulating on every hand that Alfred E. Smith's intemperate speech, before an intemperate organization financed largely by the country's richest munitions manufacturers, produced a reaction strongly in favor of the President. Communism begins to lose its terror whenever everybody with a liberal idea from the President down is called a Communist. The incredible bitterness of the small class of industrialists, utility magnates and their hangers-on, which anybody can test in his private conversation, is setting a bad example. Mr. Young, who wants to preserve capitalism and its hierarchy of power as much as they do, is statesman enough to see this. People in such vulnerable positions should be a little careful in using incendiary weapons when there are so many explosives about.

JEWISH leaders from all over the world are to meet in London soon to devise some unified plan of action to relieve the intolerable plight of their racial kinsmen in Germany. Two main lines of approach to the problem have developed out of events, meetings and discussions this far. The first concerns a possible means for Jewish capitalists to take themselves and their possessions out of Germany. Under the Warburg plan, suggested by Max Warburg of Hamburg, Jews would be allowed to take their export goods (which now face widespread boycotts due to Nazi policies) and would recover their money by selling these goods, presumably in markets now closed to Germany. An international Jewish bank would be set up to finance these transactions. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Finance Minister of the Reich, is reported as willing to accept this plan provided that goods thus taken out are genuine additional exports, over and above present export figures, and provided further that at least part of the payment be made in foreign exchange to bolster Germany's credit abroad. At the present time, German laws call for an outright "refugee tax" of 25 percent of all wealth or possessions removed from Germany. The idea of using Jews, the victims of Nazi persecution, as a means of increasing Nazi exports and bolstering Nazi finances is abhorrent to many Jewish leaders. The other main line of attack concerns the raising of $15,000,000 to finance, over a period of four years, the emigration of 100,000 young Jews between the ages of seventeen and thirty-five to other lands, at least half of them being scheduled to go to Palestine. The whole problem is enormously complex, and it is probable that a coördination of plans rather than any single proposal will be recommended by the coming world conference.

THE defenders of civil liberties appear to have won a new recruit—none other than Harper Sibley, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Speaking to the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce last week, Mr. Sibley had this to say:

> We find that where a government feels that it has the right to control the economic life of the nation, it is not long before it begins to feel that it has the right to control other things—such things as free speech, free assembly and even the right to strike.
>
> I think that if you stop to wonder what would happen if we were to lose the right of free speech, you will see that we would be in danger of losing our whole democracy—and no man is immune from this danger.
>
> Minorities would have a very poor chance with such a change in our system.

We hope that these remarks, which were well received in Buffalo, reflect a genuine change of heart among our business leaders and that the Chamber of Commerce will now abandon forthwith its efforts to have enacted such gag bills as the Kramer anti-sedition measure and the Tydings-McCormack military-disaffection bill. Surely Mr. Sibley will concede that such legislation would establish a dangerous precedent in depriving minorities of the fundamental rights of free speech and a free press. We hope, too, that the Chamber will also abandon its extensive Red-baiting program, an activity that is hardly consonant with a campaign for free speech.

IN THE interest of civic pride and civic beauty the city fathers of Chicago recently passed an ordinance requiring newsstands to be of steel construction,

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laudable program carries with it a further regulation that cannot be commended so highly. It appears that not merely shall the newsstands be steel in construction but that "nothing shall be exhibited or sold therefrom except daily newspapers printed and published in Chicago." That strikes us as carrying civic pride a bit too far. We are informed that we should not take this regulation seriously, that it is similar to a provision in an old ordinance and that it will probably not be enforced. But what if the police should suddenly take a notion to enforce it? Quite obviously, they could prevent the sale—temporarily at least—of any literature that might disturb the equanimity of Chicago thought, from The New York Times to The Daily Worker. Moreover, it is not always necessary to enforce such laws in order to get the desired result. Not long ago the police arrested a representative of Common Sense magazine for violation of the old ordinance. (The arrest coincided, oddly enough, with the beginning of a series of articles exposing Hearst.) A municipal-court judge threw the case out, declaring the ordinance unconstitutional, but the police continued to use it as a threat and to prevent the sale of Common Sense. If it is true that the new regulation will not be enforced, then that is the best reason for its immediate repeal. It has no place on the books of a municipality where freedom of the press is still supposed to exist.

MASSACHUSETTS, like many other states, has a "teachers' loyalty oath" law. Under it, Massachusetts teachers in schools and colleges are required to swear their allegiance to the Massachusetts State Constitution. That document, it is interesting to observe, openly and blatantly guarantees the right of revolution—not once, but twice! First the preamble says ". . . and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity and happiness." Then Article VII of the Constitution goes on to say:

> Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity and happiness of the people: and not the profit, honor or private interest of any one man, family or class of men; therefore the people alone have an incontestable, unalienable and indefeasible right to institute government; and to reform, alter or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity and happiness require it.

When we realize that the infamous members of the Massachusetts State Legislature are actually forcing thousands of innocent young teachers, male and female, to swear their loyalty to these subversive sentiments, we get so mad we see blue. Is the State Legislature subsidized by Moscow gold? What has Mrs. Dilling to say about this, where is the protest from the Chamber of Commerce? Page Mr. Hearst, now basking in California, and page with him the American Legion, the Crusaders, and the

Lining Up in Europe

EUROPEAN statesmen are making those visits and holding those private conversations, the exact nature of which we shall know, if ever, only after the next war when revolutionary governments or investigating committees open up secret archives. Bare facts are published, rumors are spread, but whether they are untruths told for effect, or merely partial truths allowed to leak out in order to hide the complete facts, we cannot now decide. We can merely sit and watch as the emissaries flit from capital to capital, just as we watch flashes against a black sky on a summer evening, wondering when the storm will break and whether it will pour its lightnings upon us.

This new period of tension began during the funeral of King George V. Kings, prime ministers and generals were gathered in London. It was an unsurpassed opportunity to whisper behind the curtains of pomp and ceremony. The new King talked for nearly an hour with Maxim Litvinov, Soviet Commissar of Foreign Affairs. The latter was afterward rebuked by the British press for gossiping about his interview—it being reported that he had quoted absurd trivialities from Edward VIII. Was this a calculated indiscretion, to hide the discussion of more serious matters? Marshal Tukhachevsky, Vice Commissar of Defense of the U.S.S.R., conferred with the Secretary of War of Great Britain. Other conversations occurred among the King, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, M. Titulescu and King Carol of Rumania, and Prince Starhemberg of Austria. Conversations were continued in Paris with M. Flandin, the new French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and it was reported that here not only the Russian, Rumanian and Austrian representatives participated, but also Prince Paul, Regent of Jugoslavia, and Mr. Rustu Aras, Minister from Turkey.

What was the subject of discussion? The preservation of peace, of course. It was reported that the project of "collective security" was advanced. That is, the League thesis was promoted that aggression against one would be likely to involve all, and hence that all should unite to preserve the status quo against possible aggressors. But in case the threat to aggressors does not overawe them, collective security necessarily means collective military defense, unless the threat is to be empty. Germany so interpreted the proceedings, and began to talk of a new encirclement by a military alliance. But we do not know who made promises, and what they were. We know only that a mutual-assistance pact between the Soviet Union and France will probably be ratified while this editorial is on the press, that one now exists between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and that relations among the Soviet Union, Rumania and Turkey are cordial.

There are uncertain points in this new ring. Austria is one of them. Will the government remain

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do? Or will Germany gain the ascendency in Austria? One report is that Prince Starhemberg was warned in England that he should not consent to a Hapsburg restoration for fear of trouble with the Little Entente, but that on the contrary he ought to work cordially with Czechoslovakia and her allies. Not long afterward, at Florence, Italy, Fulvio Suvich, Italian Under-secretary of Foreign Affairs, met the Austrian Foreign Minister, Berger-Waldenegg, ostensibly to reaffirm Italo-Austrian friendship. And then the German Ambassador called on Mussolini, after returning from conferences with Hitler. Rumor immediately declared that the former triple alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy was being revived to offset the Paris-Moscow rapprochement. Unlikely as this seems, who knows?

Jugoslavia also is apparently sought by both sides. At Belgrade Premier Hodza of Czechoslovakia recently interviewed Premier Stoyadimovich. It is supposed that Hodza sought to bring Jugoslavia into a Danubian economic pact including Austria, and to persuade her to recognize the Soviet Union and join the pact of mutual assistance. Jugoslavia distrusts Austria and fears, or at least pretends to fear, Hapsburg restoration. More important, perhaps, she has lucrative trade relations with Germany and does not want to join a Danubian pact that leaves Germany out. Nevertheless Jugoslavia consented to attend a conference on the subject.

No such pact, however, can be made without Hungary, and Hungary insists on "rectification" of her borders before talking economic coöperation. She is ruled by aggressive militarists and swings in the German orbit.

Meanwhile, German Air Minister Goering went hunting in Poland. He did not get the lynx he was after, but he did get a Polish decoration and a conference with Polish Foreign Minister Beck. It is said that difficulties over payment for freight transit through the Polish corridor and abuse of Polish minorities in the Reich were straightened out. Poland has a "non-agression" pact with Germany. She is supposed to be building military roads to the Soviet frontier. The gossip of European chancelleries is that Poland, like Hungary, will be Germany's ally in the next war, and will cede the corridor to Germany in return for help in the conquest of the Ukraine, parts of Czechoslovakia and Rumania and an outlet to the Black Sea through Odessa.

The powers that fear Germany appear likewise to have given up hope of Japan. The charge that Germany has a military understanding with Japan is continually made—and denied. Few expect the Eastern difficulties to lead to war now, but it is universally expected that if the Soviet Union became involved with Germany in the west, Japan would seize the occasion to attack in the east.

While all this was going on, Anthony Eden made a speech in which he declared that the existing problems were "dreadfully similar in character and must therefore arm to the teeth in support of a system of collective security, a system "so powerful as to deter any would-be aggressor." At the same time he warned that his country "would have no lot or part in encirclement." What did he mean by this? He undoubtedly meant (1) that as many nations as possible must be lined up to threaten overwhelming resistance against possible aggressors such as Germany, Japan, Italy, Poland and Hungary, and (2) that this line-up should always be open to any of these nations who are willing to join it by pledging non-aggression. Loyal membership in the League itself would appear to constitute such a pledge. The pacts between the Soviet Union and France, and between the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, are open to all who may wish to join. The Locarno treaty constitutes a mutual pledge against aggression in Western Europe.

But the disturbing factors are that both Japan and Germany have withdrawn from the League, both Italy and Germany threaten to regard Locarno as a dead letter, and neither Germany nor Poland will join the new non-aggression pacts. Hungary is known to be hopeful of a war in which she can regain lost territory. Meanwhile both sides are bidding for Austria and Jugoslavia, while Italy stands in the middle, playing with both to obtain advantage. Under these circumstances, the system of collective security becomes in fact encirclement about Germany and her possible allies. They themselves make it so because they will not guarantee the European status quo, but prefer to threaten military measures in pursuit of the alterations they desire.

It would be easy to conclude that the fluid political forces of the world are now hardening into two hostile alliances as before 1914—one for defensive purposes, including the Russian workers' republic and the Western democracies; the other for aggression, including the fascist nations which have suppressed their working classes. In such a case dominant American opinion is almost certain to take sides on behalf of England, France and even Russia as against Germany, Japan and Italy. And, with no more binding legislation than we now have to safeguard economic neutrality, eventual participation by the United States on the side where our sympathies lie is extremely likely.

But we should not be hasty in drawing conclusions before the evidence is all in. Germany hopes that France, in which the conservative forces are bitterly anti-Soviet and pro-Italian, will go fascist before the war crisis arrives. British conservatives, in spite of the brilliant young Anthony Eden, are wholly unreliable and would like nothing better than to back Germany in an attack on the Soviets. In that case, where would be collective security, where encirclement, where the war of holy democracies against wicked fascists? Opponents of American neutrality would bear a heavy responsibility if this country not only should participate in war, but should partici-

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Borah as a Candidate

SENATOR Borah is now working, as hard as he knows how, to win the Republican presidential nomination. He is entering the primaries in various states. He will make a speech in Ohio, broadcast by radio to several states on March 19. Those who have charged that Mr. Borah's candidacy is insincere and that he intends at the last minute to run once more for the Senate have been answered, partially at least, by the announcement that a close friend of his, Mr. Ray McKaig, of Boise, is seeking his seat. Mr. Borah's popularity in the country is indicated by the current poll of the American Institute of Public Opinion. In this poll Governor Landon of Kansas has 43 percent of the total and Senator Borah is second with 28 percent. He leads Governor Landon in Wisconsin and in the Rocky Mountain States as a whole.

Political observers, to be sure, still believe the Gentleman from Idaho is unlikely to receive the nomination. The standard objections to him are his age, which is seventy, the fact that he comes from a Mountain state with a small population, his progressivism—since it is assumed that the Republicans are looking for a conservative this year—and the fact that he is unpopular with the politicians of his own party because of his notorious inability to work as a member of any group. (Borah's reluctance to coöperate with anybody at any time is recorded in a famous Washington tea-table comment that the Senator couldn't really have enjoyed his horseback rides in Rock Creek Park because he had to go in the same direction as the horse.) Despite the prophets of disaster for his candidacy, he is certainly strong enough in the country at the present time to make advisable careful consideration of his personality and opinions.

During his long career, Mr. Borah has supported many progressive measures, some of which were listed by Jonathan Mitchell in The New Republic a few weeks ago: The direct election of Senators, the federal income tax, limitation of navies by international agreement (before the Conference of 1921) and recognition of Soviet Russia. He has performed an equally valuable service, in our judgment, by opposing certain other proposals. Long before most other people had come to understand them, he pointed out the iniquities embodied in the Versailles Treaty. He has stood firmly for civil liberties at times when many other men in public life preferred discreet silence. On the issue of states' rights vs. federalization, he shows a healthy consciousness of the economic realities of today.

Perhaps Senator Borah's chief weakness is his unwillingness to go all the way with a right cause. He has already promised, in this campaign, to support the Republican nominee no matter who may be chosen. When we consider the kind of man the Republicans are likely to select, this means signing ably result in a heavy overdraft. It might be argued that one should not take too seriously the words of a candidate who after all hopes to be the nominee to whom he now pledges allegiance; but Mr. Borah's history throws an ominous light upon that promise. It is an old saying about him that he is always off the reservation until election year rolls around, when his being off the reservation might have some value. Thus, in 1912, he supported Taft and a platform almost entirely in opposition to his own principles. In 1924, he went with Coolidge and against La Follette. The Senator reverses the famous saying of Bunker Hill: He keeps on firing until he sees the whites of their eyes. Then he drops his musket and surrenders.

Mr. Borah's inability to stick with his principles to the end was again, and vividly, illustrated in his Washington's Birthday broadcast last week. His speech was a tirade against the League of Nations, Great Britain and entangling America in European affairs, one that contained a good deal of truth—so far as it went. We agree with the Senator that the European powers have a bad habit of making the United States the scapegoat for their own inability to keep the peace. We think he was right in attributing to British national interest the cool indifference displayed by England toward the Japanese rape of Manchuria as compared with the sudden and fervent appeal to the League machinery regarding the Italian rape of Ethiopia. We share the Senator's belief that "sanctions"—a pretty word for the ugly reality of one-sided boycotts and embargoes—are a dangerous weapon, more likely to start wars than to enforce peace.

Our quarrel with Senator Borah's speech is not in what he said about the European powers but in his assumption that the United States lives on another moral plane, that we do not share the aggressiveness, the imperialistic policies, that he finds dominant in the rest of the world. We are aware of no evidence that this is true, and a good deal of evidence that it is not. Senator Borah, as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, certainly knows that the United States is spending over a billion dollars a year on an armament that can have but one possible purpose: to protect by force our trade and investments in the Orient. He cannot be ignorant that no statesman of recent years has glorified cold-blooded imperialist aggression more completely than has his colleague, Senator Key Pittman, in his recent inflammatory speech which, if it had been made by a Japanese statesman and dealt with us, would have produced roars of protest from Spokane to Tallahassee. Mr. Borah cannot be ignorant, either, of the fact that this incendiary piece of jingoism has not been repudiated by Secretary Hull and that everyone in Washington believes it was delivered with the knowledge and approval of the administration.

But Mr. Borah's responsibility is heavier than this. He is a member of the Senate bloc that

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neutrality law. It is true that efforts were being made to create a statute whose results would have been the opposite of neutrality; but that is no reason for abandoning the effort with stop-gap legislation only one degree better than nothing at all.

Mr. Borah opposed the neutrality bill for a reason that was particularly bad: the desire to preserve the "historic American doctrine" of freedom of the seas. Readers of The New Republic surely do not need to be reminded, at this late date, that this doctrine was one of the most important causes for bringing the United States into the Great War. It was a constant source of friction between ourselves and the Allies, and then became a *casus belli* with Germany. If Mr. Borah really believes that in the event of another major war we can hope to continue our maritime commerce to all nations uninterrupted, without inevitably being drawn into the conflict, then the lesson of history has no meaning for him at all.

The program for domestic affairs that Mr. Borah has advanced has the doubtful virtue of being one degree better than that of his Republican rivals. Characteristically, it goes only a little way, and stops short of measures that would be necessary to effectuate it. He wants to do something to regulate big business and help agriculture, but he stands firmly for the Constitution without amendment, which would prevent any effective legislation such as he has in mind. He wants old-age pensions considerably higher than those now existing, but he endorses a plan to pay for them which places a visionary reliance on voluntary action by employers. The fact that Borah is supposed to represent the extreme left of the Republican Party is a sharp commentary on the mental bankruptcy of the aged elephant.

Death All Day

IN THE last few months there has been an extraordinary increase in public attention to the subject of automobile accidents with their tremendous total of property damage, injury and death. An article by Mr. J. C. Furnas, entitled "—And Sudden Death," first published in The Reader's Digest, describing vividly what such accidents look like to the ambulance crew, has had an amazing success. It was reprinted in many other periodicals, and was distributed by the million in pamphlet form. The daily press is filled with discussion of this subject; educational campaigns are in progress in many parts of the country, conducted by groups of several sorts. Despite all this, more than 36,000 people were killed, and about a million injured, in 1935. It is of course impossible to say what the figures would have been without the safety campaigns. With the partial return of prosperity, there are more automobiles on the road, and the number of car-miles per day has probably increased.

No one expects that we shall ever be able entirely to eliminate accidents, human nature being what it present total than it needs to be? As to this, the evidence seems clear. We can reduce the quantity of accidents vastly if we are willing to pay the price.

Part of this price is adequate examination and a licensing system for all drivers. There is still a surprisingly large number of states that will permit anyone to drive a car who wants to; some states do not even have an age limit. The number of fatal accidents in these communities is about one-third larger than it is where driving ability and eyesight are tested and licenses given only to those who demonstrate their competence. Another important factor for safety is periodic examination of all cars for defects; an appallingly large proportion are roaring along the highways with bad brakes, faulty headlights or other deficiencies. The movement is rapidly gaining ground to have every car officially tested at fairly frequent intervals.

One of the greatest sources of danger is also one of those most difficult to correct: inadequate highways. It is not enough merely to build a straight four-lane road with a hard surface and with separated intersections; experience has proved that in some cases the number of accidents per car-mile is actually increased through the temptation to drive at reckless speeds. Many experts now believe that the ideal highway must be at least seven lanes wide: two paths in each direction, for fast and slow traffic; an unused strip of land separating vehicles moving in opposite directions, and an additional gravel-surfaced strip on either side for deceleration, emergency parking and acceleration. Even such a road ought not to be completely straight, but should have curves at sufficiently frequent intervals to keep the drivers' attention from wandering.

Traffic engineers make the point that reckless driving is not entirely identical with speeding, as is popularly supposed. There are some roads on which even a speed of sixty miles an hour is reasonably safe and others, as for instance in highly congested areas, where twenty miles is dangerous. As automobile mechanisms improve, speed limits can be advanced, although it is obvious that the factor of human fallibility must enter in at some point.

An interesting debate is now in progress regarding automatic governors which prevent the speed from exceeding a predetermined number of miles per hour. There are several mechanisms now on the market that perform this function efficiently and a large number of trucks and buses now carry them. A man in New Jersey whose license had been suspended recently had it restored after he had promised to use this equipment on his car. The Department of Sanitation of New York City a few weeks ago ordered a number of new cars of several types with such governors built in. In a recent questionnaire among numerous automobile owners throughout the country a surprisingly large proportion voted in favor of having tamperproof governors built into new automobiles. On the other side of the fence we find such an authority as Dr. Miller

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search at Harvard. Dr. McClintock and others in his school believe the problem of speeding should be faced and solved on its own ground. They argue that it would be just as sensible to prohibit razors because razors are sharp and people can, and do, cut themselves. They say that since the automobile and the highway are both evolving with great rapidity it would be a serious error to "freeze" them in terms of present conditions. In support of their view it is argued that only a small minority of all accidents occur when cars are traveling at speeds higher than would be permitted by governors. It is probable in fact that most accidents occur at speeds substantially lower. Some opponents of the device further maintain that there are times when the ability to put on a burst of speed is highly desirable, as for instance in passing a slow driver on a crowded road.

It is not only advisable that beginning drivers should be licensed after careful examination but also that incorrigibly bad performers should have their driving permits revoked. Some authorities believe, though as far as we know the subject has never been carefully studied, that about 25 percent of all automobile operators are involved, through their own fault, in about 75 percent of all accidents. These are persons who are either incurably reckless, irregular in their reaction times, or otherwise psychologically or physically defective. An interesting series of articles on psychological abnormalities that cause accidents was recently published by a well known New York authority, W. Beran Wolfe —who was himself killed in an automobile accident while the series was still being published. Statistics indicate, incidentally, that young people, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two, are involved in far more accidents per car-mile than their elders.

Many persons have recently suggested that if we are not to suspend the licenses of "repeaters," their cars should be clearly marked in some way so that other motorists can give them plenty of room on the highway. It was reported not long ago that this is being done in Germany, where a driver who has been found guilty of causing a serious accident is forced to display a large symbol of a distinctive color. Nearly all authorities agree that every driver should carry not merely a license card but a "passport," in which can be entered ineradicably the date and all other salient facts about every accident in which he is a participant. Study of this passport by the licensing official should, obviously, precede a renewal of his permit.

Although automobile designers pay much attention to the safety problem, important improvements are still needed. The Journal of the American Medical Association has lately published a long and gruesome article about the large numbers of persons who are killed or seriously injured by projecting door-handles. Many others are hurt by being flung against the unpadded steel interior of the car. Several European manufacturers have already adopted

left or right. Numerous bad accidents take place because a frightened driver instinctively stiffens out straight, thus stepping on the gas and causing the car to leap forward. It has been proposed that the whole floor under the driver's feet should be an emergency brake, or that excess pressure on the gas-pedal should have the same effect.

A factor that causes a shockingly large proportion of all accidents is poor visibility at night. The new polaroid headlights and windshields would abolish dazzle from approaching cars, if they became universal. Improved street lighting, and particularly the use of overhead sodium vapor lamps, making it possible to drive at night with the headlights turned off, would also be of great value, though the cost of installing them on all America's roads would be staggering.

While educational efforts have thus far had little apparent effect, it is obvious that a change in the attitude of many millions of drivers—and indeed of the community—is imperative. We are all familiar with the frustrated individual who compensates his sense of inferiority by driving too fast and is pleased if he can frighten his passengers. An amazingly large proportion of all motorists think of themselves as playing a game of tag with the motorcycle policemen and feel that as long as they are not caught, it does not matter what they do. If arrested, their sense of good citizenship does not prevent their using all possible political influence to "beat the ticket." The motorist is not solely to blame for these facts; in many localities the speed laws and other traffic regulations are archaic or conflicting, and the police and magistrates regard themselves as enemies of the automobile owner; some communities still arrest a given number of persons per year, guilty or innocent, for the sake of the revenue obtained from fines. It will be a long time before these conditions are all ameliorated. It remains true, however, that in the long run and within very wide limits we can save a tremendous proportion of the annual toll of the road. All that is necessary is that we shall be willing to pay the price of safety.

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Peace for America

I: *The Devil Theory of History and War*

PROLOGUE TO NEW HISTORY.—The revelations of the Nye munitions committee, especially in January and February, 1936, have given the American people a chance to know something real about themselves and their doings. They will doubtless mark a new epoch in the discussion of two questions: How did we get into the World War? How can we stay out of the next world war? And surely that is important for Americans, if anything is important.

These revelations are comparable in significance to the diplomatic revelations that came in 1917 and the following years, when the secret archives of Petrograd, Berlin and Vienna were torn open. Then, for the first time, the people of the world could know just what governments had been doing behind closed doors, in preparation for the great clash of arms. In some respects, the Nye revelations are even more informing. They are not confined to diplomatic manipulations. They deal with economic persons as well as political persons. They deliver positive information showing the pressures exerted by economic interests upon the government of the United States which carried the nation into war. They present a Who's Who of the momentous years and show who did what. Respecting no other large phase of American history do we have such a meticulous record of persons and pressures involved in the shaping of policies, decisions and events.

Besides furnishing materials for an encyclopedic knowledge of the events under review, the Nye revelations ought to put all people who want to be intelligent on their everlasting guard. To Americans who lived through the years 1914-18 they disclose the starkness of the ignorance that passed for knowledge and wisdom in those fateful days. They make the files of the newspapers that reported and commented on events look like the superficial scribblings of ten-year-old children, so far as the actualities behind the scenes were concerned. People who imagine that they "know what is going on" because they read great metropolitan dailies will find in the Nye records the shallowness and irrelevance of their "knowledge" gathered from the press in 1914-17. In the course of forty or fifty years some of the lessons brought to light in the story of the march along "the road to war" may sink into the minds of even Respectable Citizens.

Preliminary.—But a warning signal must be run up. The revelations of the Nye committee did not is a performance, in my opinion, utterly beyond the powers of the human mind, at least given the state of our knowledge.

The patience of the reader must be invoked, for the problem of "causation" in human history seems to be even more perplexing than the questions of higher physics with which Millikan, Jeans, Eddington and Whitehead have wrestled.

It is impossible to conceive of the cause of the war in terms of some person or persons and some action or actions standing alone—separated from other persons and actions. Physicists are now chary of assigning "causes" for this or that. For example, a chemist has ten chemicals in solution in a test tube. He adds an eleventh. A precipitation follows. Did the eleventh chemical "cause" the precipitation? Or was it "caused" by the reaction of the other ten to the event of addition? Why speak of cause at all in this connection? The chemist is likely to be content with mere description: Ten chemicals: the addition of the eleventh chemical: precipitation. It adds nothing to his *knowledge* to say that the eleventh chemical "caused" precipitation.

Human personalities and events are highly complicated. They have come out of a long historical past. They have immediate and remote relations to contemporaries. All the historian can do is to describe some of them in their immediate relations. He may describe with considerable accuracy the conditions that made *possible* what happened. He can trace lines of relationships converging upon an event. He can show that some persons had more influence than others on decisions made, but he cannot measure exactly degrees of influence. He can reduce no total situation to an equation and make a Q.E.D. We cannot know who or what "caused" the War, but we can know about leading persons who took actions verging in the direction of war and about some of the actions that verged in the direction of war. We can be reasonably sure that some conditions and actions were decidedly "favorable" to that eventuality. That is not omniscience, but at the very least it is a great deal better than nothing.

We can say on the basis of knowledge that American bankers sought to induce Woodrow Wilson to change his mind and lift the ban on loans to Allied belligerents. We know that through Lansing and McAdoo they warned him of an economic crisis to come in case he refused. We know that he yielded and lifted the ban. But did the bankers "cause" his

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he refused, what would have been the cause of the refusal? We know the events. That is a sufficient guide to future policy.

The Devil Theory of War.—Widespread is the conviction that wicked men make war—political or economic men or both. Under this conception, the masses of the people are viewed as loving peace. They want to go about their daily work, to earn a good living, to get along with their neighbors and to see everybody prosperous. Cherishing good will, they pursue their callings, occupations, professions and interests, without thought of stirring up domestic or foreign troubles. If let alone in their pacific pursuits, war will never come. In every referendum on war in the abstract, they vote overwhelmingly against it, just as they vote against sin at church on Sunday.

But into this idyllic scene of the people engaged in "peaceful" pursuits, wicked politicians, perhaps shoved along by wicked bankers, burst with their war cries. They stir up the people. They thrust arms into their hands and marshal them off to war. The politician, with the banker in the background, is a kind of *Deus ex machina,* a strange kind of demon, coming from the nether region and making the people do things they would never think of doing otherwise. Or if the source of the trouble is not some wicked person, it is a wicked "force"—an impersonal "cause" of war. If this force could be eliminated or "cured" the cause of war would be removed, and the people would keep their utopia in everlasting peace. All we need to do, then, is to drive the wicked from power or exorcise the evil spirit. This done, peace will reign.

Support for this simple view of peace and war comes from many economists. They seem to regard the politician as a kind of evil shaman that intervenes in economic affairs, without rhyme or reason or for selfish reasons of his own. Where he comes from, how he gets his power and why he interferes—these are questions seldom explored by theorists of this persuasion. Politicians interfere with the people in business. If they would stop, enterprise would boom along and everybody (almost) would be employed and happy. But this *Deus ex machina* keeps breaking into the blissful domestic scene and upsetting the perfect balance of "the delicately adjusted economy." Besides making domestic troubles, politicians willfully lead countries into war. And war is a senseless, uneconomic performance that destroys the balance of world economy and brings on panics. If politicians would stop interfering at home and stop making wars, the whole world would be busy, employed and (almost) happy.

Of course economists do not always put the case in these brief terms, but this is what their speculations amount to when boiled down to fundamentals. Politicians upset things at home, make wars abroad and disarrange the balance of production and exchange. Being the great peacetime pursuit of the nation at

The Devil Theory Will Not Hold Water.—Anybody who will stop singing this old tune for a few minutes and examine it in the light of a few facts will see how childish it is. In the pursuit of peace, people are doing things that have a direct bearing on war. They are producing goods and offering them for sale. And such is the nature of machine industry under capitalist propulsion that there are usually a lot more goods to sell than the buyers can pay for. These are the so called "surpluses" of industry and agriculture. In some lines they may be small, in others, large. If these surpluses are not large at the moment, the potentials for increasing them are always present in machine industry. Given a chance to "make a profit" the owners of land and industries can usually manage to expand on short notice and pour out as many goods as the market will take.

Now it usually happens, even in the best of times, that the peaceful people, engaged in pursuing ways of peace, are looking hungrily for buyers—foreign as well as domestic. As a matter of fact, it is as patriotic to sell to a foreigner as to a fellow citizen. The pressure for opportunities to sell goods is an enormous peacetime pressure that comes out of the peaceful pursuit of peaceful pursuits.

But the politicians and the bankers so often accused of making wars do not come from some nether region, under this world of peaceful people so busily engaged in peaceful pursuits. They all come from among these very people. Apart from the chronic professionals, most politicians have engaged at one time or another in some peaceful pursuit. Often they are lawyers who have labored hard for business men and corporations devoted to turning out goods and making profits. Bankers are as a rule middlemen. Their function is to facilitate the operations of making and selling goods. They are in constant touch with such operations. They lend money to set them in motion. They smooth the ways of exchange, both domestic and foreign.

Neither politicians nor bankers operate in a vacuum. They do not intrude themselves upon the people from some magic world of their own. The politician seldom if ever conjures up some measure or scheme of action from the vasty deeps of his own mind. He works on suggestions from people engaged in one or more pursuits of peace, or on threats, pressures and orders from them. Whether he keeps the peace or goes to war he is acting under the stimulus of demands from groups, classes and interests. His strokes of state do not come out of an empty sky. He dwells in no ivory tower. He reflects the ideas and wishes of his constituents. The banker also lives right down in the middle of things, amid the pushing and shoving of the marketplace. He doesn't play pinochle in an ivory tower. He watches for chances to speed up the business of making goods and selling them at a profit—this being the great peacetime pursuit of the nation at

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The World War Boosts Peacetime Pursuits in America.—In the summer of 1914 the American people were busy as ever making and trying to sell goods at an advantage. But things were not going at top-notch speed. Business had slowed down in the preceding winter, notwithstanding the New Freedom. There was a great deal of unemployment in the cities. Manufactures were not moving swiftly enough to suit the makers. The prices of farm produce did not satisfy farmers. In other words, Americans could do a lot more business than they were doing—peaceful business of making and selling goods, at an advantage. They had no idea, it is true, of going out frankly with a battle axe to drive bargains with other nations, but they were looking for customers. That was what they imagined themselves to be here for, at least principally. After all, what other purpose would more firmly engage the affections of a peaceful and practical people?

Then the big war broke with a bang. The American people got excited about it and evolved all kinds of passions, sentiments and theories pertaining thereunto. But in general they were peaceful [illegible]ted to go on making and selling goods, at [illegible] They had been doing that before [illegible]ontinue the performance [illegible]n the seas were open, bega[illegible]actures and farm produce rather he[illegible]alists and farmers were pleased to sell. [illegible]s were pleased to have jobs. Merchants and bankers were pleased to facilitate the transactions of purchase and payment. The Wilson administration was not unpleased to have business looking up. A congressional election was approaching and the sign of the full dinner pail would help keep Democrats in power. Keeping Democrats in power was deemed for the good of the country, by Democrats.

Of course there was a lot of confusion in the beginning. American short-term loans had to be paid in London. The stock market was bewildered. And the wise prognosticators in Wall Street could not forecast the future to their satisfaction. But after the first confusions were over, the peaceful business of making and selling goods spurted forward. It just so happened, perhaps unfortunately, that the best of new customers were the Allied governments engaged in an unpacific enterprise. But they were good customers. They were in a hurry. They needed goods, in fact very badly, and were not inclined to haggle too much over prices, commissions and fees.

At first also they could pay for their purchases. They had gold to send over. They could muster American, Canadian and other foreign securities, and sell them to raise cash. Despite the War, some British, French and Russian goods were imported into the United States, and these imports provided [illegible] for paying export bills. But there was a

to pay for American goods and keep Americans busy at peacetime pursuits.

Apparently a pinch was felt very early in the rush, for the French government soon sounded out the National City Bank on the possibility of a loan or credit. That would help. It would make American money available to pay American business men and farmers, engaged in peacetime pursuits. Bigger sales, bigger profits, bigger wages, bigger prices and bigger prosperity. It looked good to everybody—manufacturers, farmers, bankers, wage earners and politicians who wanted to stay in office. Perhaps some tears were shed, but they were not so big as millstones and did not get in the way of making and selling at an advantage.

To those Americans who, for one reason or another, sympathized with the Entente Allies, the boom in business was doubly sweet. It piled up profits and commissions; it meant strength for the Allies' cause; it helped "to save civilization." But very few Americans engaged in the peaceful pursuit of making and selling had any thought at first of getting into the War. They were all for more and better business. It was nearly as simple as that, apart from the uproar of propagandists, sentimentalists and the intelligentsia.

The Democrats knew the country when in 1916 they flung up the slogan "He kept us out of war." The great majority of the American people doubtless wanted to continue their peaceful pursuit, making and selling goods.

It was simple and natural. But few realized how fateful in outcome their peaceful pursuit was to be. Few realized that war is not made by a *Deus ex machina,* but comes out of ideas, interests and activities cherished and followed in the preceding months and years of peace. The notion that peace might make war did not enter busy heads.

The big question in 1915 was: How can the Allies "pay" for more and more goods, and enable Americans to follow peaceful pursuits happily?

New York bankers found the answer. They communicated it to Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, to William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, to Colonel House, confidential adviser to the President of the United States. The question reached Woodrow Wilson. The answer reached him. Finding the solution agreeable, he approved it. The bankers' solution worked—for a time. Americans bought bonds to pay themselves for goods sold to the Allies. It was wonderful, the way it worked—for a time. Americans could keep on with their peaceful pursuits, with bigger and better prospects—for a time, for a time.

War is not the work of a demon. It is our very own work, for which we prepare, wittingly or not, in ways of peace. But we sit blindfolded at the preparation. CHARLES A. BEARD.

This is the first of a series of three articles on neutrality. The second will appear in an early

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Mussolini and the Workers

ONE OF the most striking features of Fascist propaganda is the insistence of Mussolini and his followers that they are for the workers. Fascism claims that its program is not merely negative and anti-Socialist but that it is designed to do more for the masses than can the socialism of the Second and the communism of the Third International. Mussolini in his speeches is fond of saying that Italy is both "proletarian and Fascist" and of referring to other countries as being swayed by "plutocratic egoism." The twentieth century, he has declared, is to be (presumably under his auspices) "that of the power and glory of labor."

Those who do not wish to be intoxicated by phrases will, however, naturally want to know how much reality lies behind such words. Do they represent the outward course of Fascist policy? Or are they simply verbal carry-overs from Mussolini's radical youth and used, consciously or unconsciously, to throw dust in the eyes of the workers?

Il Duce's Sources of Power.—In the first place, it should never be forgotten that Mussolini came to power through the support of the big capitalists. The program with which he started the Fascist Party immediately after the War was one of radical syndicalism, although it was of course violently nationalistic. But in 1921 he reversed himself and went over to the extreme right. This was because the widespread strikes of 1920 and the temporary occupation by the workers of many factories in Milan and Turin frightened the wealthy industrialists beyond measure. They thought the revolution was just around the corner and turned away from Giolitti and the political tools they had formerly used. They were on the search for someone who would crush the unions and remove by force the threat to their supremacy. Mussolini exactly fitted their bill. The big industrialists, and probably some of the banks as well, therefore turned over large sums of money to him. Mussolini used this to recruit and equip an army of middle-class roughnecks who would smash and kill at his direction and that of his lieutenants, Balbo, Grandi and Farinacci. These bands were then turned loose not only against socialist bodies but against all working-class organizations. Trade-union offices were raided and many officials killed. Competent authorities fix the number of union leaders who have been killed, imprisoned, exiled and deported by the present regime at approximately 18,000. All this was what the big capitalists wanted. Mussolini then ranged the small merchants behind him by using similar tactics against the consumers' coöperatives. At the same time he got the support of the big landlords by using

lic Popular Party under Don Sturzo, were trying to redistribute the land among the peasants.

If, therefore, anyone ever came to power as the agent of capitalism big and little, industrial and agricultural, it was Benito Mussolini. Moreover, the capitalism he served was one that had turned its back on liberal toleration and was instead resolved to use any means, however brutal, to hold its privileges against the rising tide of discontent.

Many intelligent Fascists will privately admit all this when the early history of the movement is discussed. But they reply by saying that while Fascism in its early years may have been the tool of reactionary capitalism, it has since been able to shake itself loose from these entangling alliances and is now above classes, governing only for the good of the nation as interpreted by Mussolini. The two million members of the party, of whom 400,000 are members of the armed Fascist militia, together with the complete control over publicity and the organized youth, give to Mussolini, they allege, as great a mastery over the capitalists as over labor.

Land Holdings in Italy.—All such talk has little meaning in face of the fact that Mussolini has never made the slightest effort to reduce the extraordinary inequality in the ownership of property that characterizes Italy; rather, he has increased it. Let us consider first the case of agriculture. There are 8,100,000 workers on the 65,000,000 acres, of whom around 3,000,000 are either proprietors or members of the immediate family; an approximately equal number are virtually landless farm laborers; while perhaps 2,000,000 are tenants. The 17,500 holdings that range between 250 and 1,250 acres and that include a total of 8,700,000 acres, indicate that 35 percent of the agricultural land is comprised in one-half of one percent of the holdings. In contrast to these large estates are the 900,000 "farms" of less than an acre and a quarter in size and the 600,000 more that are between this figure and two and a half acres. Therefore, these 1,500,000 petty peasants, or about three-eighths of the total number of proprietors and tenants, are each cultivating less than two and a half acres and are trying to get their living from only about three percent of the soil. Nearly a third of this number, or almost half a million, are in turn tenants rather than proprietors and must surrender around one-third of their total crop to the landlord for rent.

Plight of the Italian Workers.—What, then, has been the lot of the three million agricultural laborers? A recent study by Dr. Paola Arcari in Eco-

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nevertheless indicate that the farm laborers raised their real wages by nearly 50 percent between 1914 and 1922, the gains being made in the period of agrarian agitation. After eleven years of Fascist rule, wages were, however, ten percent less than in 1922.

The record is much the same in urban industry. The large industries are under the tight control of a relatively limited number and the big capitalists are still powerful in the Fascist Party. Count Volpi, the power magnate, sits on the Grand Council, while the Agnellis of the Fiat works and Pirelli are close to Mussolini. During the depression the government has come to the aid of many companies by making them loans. The Italian loans, like those of the R.F.C., have virtually ignored small enterprises.

Real Wages and the Cost of Living.—The Italian statistics on the condition of the working class are subject to some suspicion. It is a byword among labor statisticians that in Italy the figures on wages and the cost of living "must behave." Nearly five years ago, however, after examining these official sources, I came to the conclusion that the real wages of the town and city workers had been reduced under fascism, and this judgment has been further confirmed by Rosentock-Frank's work on Fascist economy. Dr. Arcari has again furnished more evidence on this point, which is especially noteworthy since it comes from a strenuous pro-Fascist point of view. In her "Salari e Costo della Vita" she shows that the real daily wages of the workers were cut in half during the War, but had so increased between 1919 and 1921 as nearly to reach their pre-war level. Incidentally this would seem to justify both the working-class discontent in the post-war period and the effectiveness of the trade-union action that fascism bitterly fought. By 1931, however, the workers in the industrial city of Milan for an hour's work could buy only 90 percent as much as in 1922 and had therefore suffered a loss in real hourly wages of 10 percent. In Brescia the decrease was five percent. Since 1931, the purchasing power of the workers has been further reduced by cutting the weekly hours of work to around forty, but without the partially compensating increase in wages per hour that occurred in the United States under the N.R.A. The fact that even at the beginning of the depression the Italian workers were worse off than they had been twenty years before contrasts sharply with the gain of from 30 to 40 percent made until then by the workers in Sweden and the United States and even with the material advances obtained by the workers in Soviet Russia.

In addition to all this, unemployment has been high in Italy ever since 1927. Throughout 1934, the number out of work was around 1,000,000 out of a total of approximately 7,000,000 in the wage-working class itself. While this figure has decreased in recent months, this has been primarily due to the mustering of several hundreds of thousands of men

Social Services Under Fascism.—The Fascists, however, are fond of claiming credit for various forms of social protection that are made available for labor, such as old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, insurance against tuberculosis, medical care and leisure-time activities. But this ignores the fact that the two most important features of this program—old-age pensions and unemployment insurance—were put into effect long before the days of the Fascist regime. Both were passed by bourgeois parties in the attempt to steal the thunder of the Socialists, who were the driving force behind the movement. The Italian system of unemployment insurance is now most niggardly. Only about one-fourth of those out of work actually receive benefits, which average about 25 cents a day.

The only new services that the Fascists have provided are added medical care, particularly for tuberculosis, and a greater development of leisure-time activities through the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro. But while this institution has many admirable features, it is permeated by Fascist propaganda.

Government Finance and Taxation.—Let us turn now to the sources from which the government raises its revenues. Fascism, it is true, inherited a bad and regressive system of taxation. For Italy has long been known among economists as having the most subtle writers on public finance and the worst actual practices of any European country. But Mussolini has made this system worse rather than better. He greatly reduced the inheritance taxes on the big estates and with some modifications has maintained heavy indirect levies. Thus, of the $1,500,000,000 that the national government raised by taxes in 1933-34 no less than $660,000,000, or 44 percent of the total, was derived from taxes and tariffs on such commodities as sugar, benzene, coffee, etc., and the profits of the tobacco, salt and match monopolies. This, of course, is regressive taxation of the worst type. In addition, $285,000,000 or another 19 percent came from stamp taxes of every description, and the major part of these levies was in the main passed on to the ultimate consumer. If we allow for certain other taxes that are regressive in nature, it seems probable that from 60 to 65 percent of the national revenues are provided by the hard-pressed masses. Furthermore, nearly half the local revenue of the cities is derived from taxes on consumption, usually about ten percent of the sale price. That on wine, a conventional necessity to the Italian workman, is about 20 percent.

Nor is this all. Whereas the previous regime gave bounties upon wheat in order to reduce the price of bread to the poor, Mussolini, by means of high tariffs and import prohibitions, has forced the wholesale price up to around $2.70 a bushel, or to about three times its price in the Liverpool market. The big landlords, of course, make a handsome profit from this but the urban workers lose heavily

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Is the Corporative State Eye-Wash?—There remains the so-called corporative state that Mussolini announced with great ballyhoo between 1925 and 1927. But no corporations (except for the theatre!) were started until 1934, when the twenty-two basic units were set up. These are roughly comparable to the code authorities under the N.R.A., except that the workers' syndicates have nominally equal representation with the employers. But this means comparatively little, since the representatives of the workers, both in their national syndicates and the corporations are not elected by the workers but are directly imposed from above by the national organs of the Fascist Party. Precisely what the functions of these corporations are to be in the future is still uncertain. The various agenda that have been published for the recent meetings certainly show no subjects of real benefit to the workers. There is considerable evidence to indicate that, like the N.R.A., they are leading to price fixing in a manner that is injurious to the consumer, and the control over the building of new plant and the installation of new machinery is being used to favor the big industrialists rather than the small.

Workers and Mussolini's Future.—In one respect, however, the Fascists have given greater protection to the workers. This is in the control over discharges. A worker who is fired can appeal to the labor courts, and if the employer fails to produce a sufficient reason, he may be compelled to indemnify the discharged man. One suspects, however, that this is much more likely to be done if it is a Fascist instead of a non-Fascist who has been dropped. This unfair advantage is confessedly given in the case of hirings. Employers can hire only those men whom the employment offices, controlled of course by the Fascists, approve. Open preference in referring men to positions and in granting this approval is given to party members, while those suspected of being hostile to the regime fare badly. The loss of security in obtaining a position may therefore more than counterbalance the greater safeguards against discharge.

The conclusion seems clear that Fascism has on the whole injured rather than aided labor. It has stripped the workers of their main defenses, such as the independent unions, the right to strike, and most of the coöperatives, and has put them into the hands of a party that in its composition is primarily middle and upper class, and is even more so in its direction. Even Mussolini could not seriously alter this situation and stay in power. And above everything else, he wants to increase his dominance. The condition of the workers is indeed one of the most vital weaknesses in the regime. It will not threaten Mussolini unless a severe crisis develops, since he has the weapons of intimidation and of publicity. But if severe military or economic reverses are suffered by Italy, it is likely to cause trouble for those who now hold power.

Rome. PAUL H. DOUGLAS.

Dusty Death

THERE is nothing new about silicosis. The Ptolemies knew of it. Pliny the Elder referred to it as "the stone-cutter's disease," and Aristotle warned Greek workmen against it. Medical records of the past two thousand years are dotted with descriptions of its cause and effect. International conferences have been called to discuss means of combatting it. The United States Bureau of Mines has issued hundreds of bulletins describing it as the most prevalent and most dangerous industrial disease known to man.

With the exception of inadequate legislation in eleven states making silicosis a compensable disease, not a single state or federal statute has been passed to protect American workers against it. This amazing paradox was the principal factual nugget in the vein of tragedy uncovered this winter by our congressional investigation into construction of the "tunnel of death" at Gauley Bridge, West Virginia.

When the House Labor subcommittee appointed to do the task began its investigation two months ago, it was inclined to look askance at references to Gauley Bridge and neighboring towns as villages of the living dead. The committee knows better now. It has heard doctors, social workers and investigators describe the ghost towns whose male population has been decimated by the creeping death called silicosis. It has heard from the lips of the dying and the widows of the dead the horrors of a dust-filled hole through a West Virginia mountain where, after a matter of months, men choked up and died. It has heard a mother, whose eyes were those of a stricken animal, tell of the slow strangulation within the course of thirteen months of her three young and vigorous sons, and of the youngest who asked that he be "cut open after he was dead so the doctors could find out what had killed him."

And, greatest tragedy of all, it has found irrefutable proof that the disaster at Gauley Bridge need not have happened.

When, in 1932, a Union Carbide subsidiary, the New-Kanawha Power Company, decided to construct a water-power tunnel at Gauley Bridge, preliminary surveys and test borings revealed large deposits of almost pure silica in the path of the project. Now, silica is an extremely valuable rock. It is essential in glass manufacture and certain

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subsidiary manufacturing metallurgic equipment in a nearby West Virginia town, the discovery came as a godsend, and the Charlottesville, Virginia, contractors—Rinehart and Dennis—were consequently instructed to increase the size of their shafts when passing through the rich silica deposits.

From that point on the venality of the contractors was almost beyond conception. Disregarding even the most elementary health and safety precautions and the warnings of the West Virginia Bureau of Mines (which, incidentally, had no authority in the matter since this was not a mine but a tunnel), they pushed the job with presumably but one thought in mind—that speed means money.

Ten-hour work shifts, "dry" drilling with ten of the sixteen drills which were in operation at once, operation of gasoline motors in the headings, and inadequate and at times nonexistent ventilation in these modern Black Holes of Calcutta, produced working conditions which witnesses could only describe as "hellish."

"Silica dust covered us from head to foot, got in our hair, our eyes, our throats, befouled our drinking water," witness after witness testified.

"You couldn't see ten feet ahead of you even with the headlight of the donkey-engine." . . . "Strong, husky men gasped, choked and collapsed on the ground and were carried outside to revive." . . . "Men died like flies" . . . "the labor turn-over in Negro workers was tremendous." . . . "You couldn't tell a white man from a colored man fifteen feet away." . . . "The paymaster told the assistant superintendent: 'I knew they was going to kill those niggers within five years, but I didn't know they was going to kill them so quick.' . . ."

Wet drilling, so called because a stream of water plays constantly over the points of the drills, would have cut the dust hazard to a minimum, but wet drilling is slower and therefore more expensive. Masks? Masks cost money! It was cheaper, the company found, to diagnose the wracking cough which within a few weeks attacked the workers as "pneumonia" or the more mysterious "tunnelitis," and to dole out little black pills for every ailment.

Of course, men died. Just how many the committee has not been able to determine, but the estimates run all the way from 200 to 500. The company, adopting the role of undertaker with both neatness and dispatch, quickly solved that problem. There is a field of waving corn in the nearby village of Summerville. Beneath the corn lie the bodies of an untold number of men who died in the "tunnel of death" at Gauley Bridge. The local undertaker, hired by the company to perform mass burials at $50 a head, doesn't know how many he buried in that field. His records have been "lost."

Silica eats through tempered steel. What it does to the human lungs is almost beyond belief. One of the most dramatic committee exhibits is the lungs of a worker who died of acute silicosis. Parts of it the size of your fist are petrified clear through—

But that's what silicosis means—a gradually increasing agony as little by little the fine particles of silica fill up the air cells of the lungs and cause what is literally death by strangulation.

Hundreds of lawsuits have resulted from the tragedy that is Gauley Bridge, since until recently the disease was not compensable in West Virginia. "It's a racket!" the company howls, but I prefer the definition of Senator Holt of West Virginia:

"The most horrible industrial disaster in the history of the world and a permanent black mark on the record of American industry."

VITO MARCANTONIO.

The People vs. Hearst

AMERICA'S most dramatic strike of newspapermen has broken out in Milwaukee. Dramatic, because it is not only a strike of editorial workers to force recognition of the American Newspaper Guild, but because it will develop and is developing into a strike of the people against William Randolph Hearst.

In temperatures that have ranged as low as 16 below zero, in the blast of arctic winds from Lake Michigan, twenty-nine men and women—reporters, editors, "sob sisters," photographers, copy boys—are marching on a picket line in front of The Wisconsin-News, Hearst's organ in Milwaukee. Others are marching with them—teachers, professional people, union men—white collar and blue overalls side by side. Members of the Milwaukee Newspaper Guild from the other local dailies also take their turns on the picket line.

In this strike the men and women who produce and edit the news are telling Mr. Hearst they will not be stepped on, they will not be bribed, they will not be tricked, they will not be given the runaround. They are telling Mr. Hearst that there may be "romance" in the newspaper game, but they cannot eat it. They are telling him also, as one local wag put it, that they want to "Buy American," but they want to know, "with what"?

The strike followed prolonged efforts to negotiate a contract with John Black, Hearst's resident publisher of The Wisconsin-News. The Milwaukee Guild's executive committee conferred with Black repeatedly over a period of six to seven weeks.

The contract asked for: a five-day week of 37½ hours, a minimum pay scale of $30 to $70 (the latter after seven years), a sliding rate of dismissal bonuses, vacations with pay and a closed shop, as well as other less vital benefits.

At the outset, Black indicated that, after a given amount of bargaining, after the play of proposals and counter-proposals, an agreement, of contractual nature, would be reached. But that was evidently before Mr. Hearst entered the picture. The Guild believes the Lord of San Simeon wired orders not

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At the fourth conference, Mr. Black reversed himself and made it plain that there would be "no contractual agreement" with the Guild. However, if the Guild made worthwhile suggestions for improvements, "perhaps" he would then put them into effect, Black said. That is, he would accept the Guild as an advisory committee. In the midst of the conferences, too, Black suddenly ordered salary raises on the staff, here and there, but not uniformly. The Guild at once took credit for these, though Black sought to explain "they had nothing to do with the Guild." The executive committee tried to bargain further. It was up against a stone wall, Black would not budge. It reported back to the Wisconsin-News unit. What were its orders?

"Contract, or strike," was the reply.

A few stayed in—enough to put out botched editions of the paper. The managing editor did the work of one of his $18.05 copy readers. Significantly, among the reporters who chose to scab were those who got pay raises of $10 to $15 a week. Out on the picket line, braving sub-zero winds, were the star feature writer, a woman who had been on The Wisconsin-News fifteen years; the leading rewrite man, the financial editor, the radio editor, all photographers but one, crack reporters and desk men, copy boys who were the mainstay of their families.

The struggle of these white-collar workers won instant support. Organized labor swung behind them. Expecting that the Guild will affiliate with the American Federation of Labor at its national convention in June, the Federated Trades Council voted unanimous backing and appointed a committee to assist the strikers. The Workers' Alliance and the unions sent out pickets to help. Pent-up anti-Hearst feeling broke out. Cancellations of subscriptions are pouring in on The Wisconsin-News. News dealers stopped sales of the paper. Leading public figures accepted appointment to a citizens' committee to help the strikers. Speeches against Hearst were resounding from the rostrums of the Workers' Alliance meetings, Socialist meetings, union meetings and sessions of many other organizations. The strike has taught the Guild here that its best friend, its strongest ally, is organized labor; that, without the backing of the unions, it cannot win. If a vote were taken here now, the Guild would be 100 percent for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The Guild has learned the lesson that Newark learned—namely, that newspapermen belong with organized labor.

One result appears to have been achieved already by the strike. The Milwaukee Sentinel, which is nominally a Paul Block paper, is housed in the same building with The News. Confronted daily with picket lines, and seeing the rise of community sentiment in favor of the strikers, The Sentinel has now started conferences with the Guild.

Under the direction of Jonathan Eddy, national executive secretary, and William Davy, national Guild organizer, th[illegible] in the Guild's short history is being mapped out. A national committee is about to be set up. The Socialist administration is sympathetic and actively helpful. The unions are strongly anti-Hearst. And, above all, there is The Milwaukee Leader, labor and Socialist daily, which carries the Guild's side in stories and editorials day after day. The fight against Hearst may overshadow the straight union issues involved. The Guild is trying to avoid that. But it is inevitable that "Beat Hearst" will be the battle cry. Perhaps Hearst will spend millions to fight recognition of the Guild, to keep his brand of "romance" in the editorial rooms. If he does, this contest may prove historical. It will be a battle of all liberal and labor forces against the dollars of Hearst. It may be Hearst's Waterloo.

Milwaukee. RUBEN LEVIN.

NEW ENGLAND

Moving Landscape with Falling Rain

Woodlands are lost upon a haze
Of hills and overlapping spurs;
A dripping rain of sumac strays
A stony solitude of firs.

A hillside shows its jagged teeth
And white the headstones fall askew.
Winter not passion sleeps beneath
The snowy names of Pettigrew.

And wilderness comes to the verge
Of cinders in this chimney'd town,
And snow and Fords and rust-tins merge
With hollows where the rain is brown.

There is no sustenance in this ground
Unless we live on bones or sweat:
In graves the bones. Above are bound
The Lithuanian, Pole and Lett.

Black girders bridge with iron rain
A desolation spreading tracks,
Twilight converts a dwindling train
Into a waste of tin-roof'd shacks,

Tar-paper sides where winter seeps
And soot assures a crust to snow.
The traffic stops, the mind escapes,
But the dead heart stays below.

Winter Print

Snow in Connecticut is thatched
With orange mist and purple weed,
Runneled by rain and rudely patched
By rocks that cannot go to seed.

What cold pursuit those dreams! What suns
Tortured with winds snow-hills like these!
And dark the asphalt river runs
Under the unreflected trees.

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Washington Notes

Budget-Balancer Roosevelt Has His Troubles—Inflation, Deflation or Black Art?—Borah's Boom and R.E.A. Plans

THERE are signs that Mr. Roosevelt is genuinely concerned over the prospective budget deficit. Apparently he would like to keep it within a billion, but sees no hope of doing so. If this concern of Mr. Roosevelt over the budget is as real and as intense as it is reported to be, it would account for a great deal of the seeming confusion that envelops the administration's policy.

It should be remembered that Mr. Roosevelt is not himself an expert on economic theory and is forced to rely on advisers. When he first took office, nearly three years ago, he was assured by the group around him that the budget was something that would take care of itself. With recovery, the unemployed would be automatically reabsorbed, permitting relief expenditures to be abandoned, and, at the same time, increased tax receipts would come flooding into Collector Helvering's Bureau of Internal Revenue.

These assurances have not altogether been borne out by events. Business activity has not yet reached the 1926 level, but it has come close to that mark, and unemployment, instead of decreasing proportionately, has remained as great as ever. Relief expenditures have seemingly become stabilized at around two billions. To the more faint-hearted administration members, if not to the President himself, it seems as if they were pouring money down a rat-hole.

When Mr. Roosevelt took office, unquestionably he had a vast distrust of orthodox economists. He regarded them not as impartial scientists, but as disguised lobbyists for Wall Street and Hoover. In those days, broadly speaking, the wilder and fuzzier a theory, the more he seemed to favor it. This bent of mind led him into his unhappy adventure with Professor Warren and the commodity dollar, at the end of which he showed signs of considerable disillusionment. It is not improbable that he now suspects that economics is a black and unfathomable art, about which no one can speak with certainty.

It may be guessed that Mr. Roosevelt's doubts are increased by the division of thought existing among his chief officials. The top economic authority of the administration today is Mr. Eccles, upon whom has just been bestowed the mouth-filling title of Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Mr. Eccles holds that whatever inflationary consequences might arise from an unbalanced budget could almost surely be controlled by the government's new central-banking powers. He is reported to feel that either the cessation of government spending or the imposition of heavy new taxes—and both would be needed for an attempt at budget-balancing—might bring about a dangerous check to continued business recovery. Recently he asked apprehensive members of Congress: "How can you have inflation as long as men and plants remain idle?"

The official who perhaps most forcefully represented the opposite view was Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, who last month resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Coolidge's job was to arrange for the flotation of had close daily contact with New York bankers. In an entirely proper way, he was their mouthpiece in Washington, and his departure from the administration is supposed to have been caused by Mr. Roosevelt's reluctance to take effective preliminary steps toward reducing the Treasury's deficit. Now that he is gone, budget-balancing is being championed by a number of lesser Treasury officials.

At one time or another, Mr. Eccles has received a great deal of polite abuse for his monetary views, and he holds them with something of a martyr's fervor. The budget-balancers, for their part, are no less dogmatic. Mr. Roosevelt consequently finds himself in a difficult position. On one side, he is being warned to avoid deflationary moves at all costs; on the other, he is being told that inflation lies just under his feet.

This conflict over the budget is the cause of Mr. Roosevelt's delay of two months in announcing his future relief program, his still longer delay in formulating a housing program, his hesitation about submitting a new tax bill. Budget-balancing is the only issue about which he gives evidence of being on the defensive. Mr. Hoover's early attacks on the administration, in which he accused it of fostering "collectivism," brought only merriment from the White House; his more recent attacks, however, in which he has emphasized the budget question, have seemingly worried Mr. Roosevelt. On this one issue of the budget—and the unemployment-relief issue with which it is so intimately connected—he gives the impression of a man caught by forces that he does not altogether understand and cannot control.

In his primary campaign, Senator Borah has so far shown something of the same calm, unhurried perfection of motion and terrific speed exhibited by Birger Ruud in one of his 350-foot ski jumps at Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Overnight he has apparently welded every dissident Republican group in the state of Ohio into a compact fighting body. Despite his lack of campaign funds, he seems likely to make a surprisingly good showing against the Walter Brown-Simeon Fess "regulars." If matters shape up as promisingly for him in Illinois and California, he will begin to give the Republican Party leadership acute concern. His greatest handicap so far has been the well founded opposition of the Negro vote.

One interesting development in Ohio has been the sudden retirement of Representative Chester C. Bolton from the primary contest. Originally Mr. Bolton was to run as a "favorite son," with the understanding that after the first ballot his delegates would go the candidate agreed on by the state bosses. It now appears that Mr. Bolton has serious presidential ambitions, and is unwilling to be a ritual sacrifice. Bolton is young, energetic, reactionary and extremely popular among Republican members of Congress. The Hilles-Roraback-Fletcher Republican group has shown no enthusiasm for Colonel Knox or Governor Landon, and is reported to be searching for a promising dark horse. Republicans say that Bolton's nomination is not so improbable as one might suppose.

Nowhere outside the T.V.A.'s own organization was the Supreme Court's decision in the Alabama power case more

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After months of preparation, the R.E.A. is now ready to embark on an electrification program that is planned ultimately to reach 3,500,000 rural homes. Senator Norris, with the support of the administration, has introduced a bill giving the R.E.A. $100,000,000 a year for the next nine years. In part, the success of the program will depend on the legal ability of rural power coöperatives to construct facilities of their own. The R.E.A. has already set in motion twenty-four rural projects, of which seventeen are those of power districts or coöperatives.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Mr. Cummings (Walter J.) Catches the Gravy Train—The Democratic Committee Treasurer and His "Take"—Progress in Missouri

IT IS not so long ago that the President was troubling himself very much about the high salaries paid to some of his most influential big-business enemies. When the attack was first made, some two years ago, against industrialists getting salaries of $100,000 a year or more, one of the President's secretaries was knocking down $900 a week for a one-half-hour weekly broadcast on the side. And what some of the Democratic National Committeemen were knocking down was a subject of more than passing comment in Washington.

Now another precious instance of a Democratic National Committeeman cutting in on some very juicy pickings comes to light. Mr. Walter J. Cummings is the treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. Before he was a Committee chairman he was a business man, as is the case with most treasurers, since they are entrusted with the delicate job of shaking down their business colleagues in the interest of sound government.

Mr. Cummings is the chairman and president of a small suburban railway company in Chicago, called the Chicago and West Farms Railway. It blew up in 1932, just as the Democrats were preparing to start their great proletarian revolution. Its financial structure is an excellent example of the school of industrial operation to which Mr. Cummings belongs.

It has been reorganized, of course, and here is the way its affairs stand. The capital stock consists of $1,000,000 of six-percent preferred stock; $210,000 of eight-percent preferred stock, $2,153,000 of bonds and $1,000,000 of common stock. That is, there is a capital structure of $4,353,000 and 77 percent of it is funded debt.

That eight-percent preferred stock looks good until you are told it has paid no dividends since 1930 and that the arrears are 36 percent. The $1,000,000 six-percent preferred has had no dividends since 1930 either and its arrears are 27 percent—perhaps more now.

Well, the reason for bringing all this up is that The St. Louis Post-Dispatch points to the fact that when the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company of Chicago was in trouble, the R.F.C. put $50,000,000 into it to save it. Mr. Jesse Jones then insisted on naming a president [illegible] but it brought Mr. Cummings a neat salary of $50,000 a year.

Then Mr. Jesse Jones had another nice plum to pass out—one of the three trusteeships of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad. Mr. Jones was to name a trustee representing the government, because the government had put $24,000,000 into the railroad and has been negotiating about another large loan. As trustee Mr. Cummings gets $11,499 a year, which piled on top of his $50,000 as Mr. Jones's president of the Continental, gives him $61,499 a year.

But Mr. Cummings has plenty of other things to do. For instance, he is put down in the Register of Directors for 1936 just issued, as president and director of the American Car and Foundry Company, of which the late Mr. William Woodin, Mr. Roosevelt's friend, Secretary of the Treasury and guitar-player, was head. He is also a director of the American Car and Foundry Securities Corporation. He is a director of the more or less late Mr. Insull's Commonwealth Edison Company, of the Brill Corporation and president and director of the Cummings Car and Coach Company. He is a director of the Texas Corporation—one of the great oil companies. What Mr. Cummings gets from these various companies, to snuggle up in his bank account alongside of the $61,499 tossed to him by Mr. Jones, I do not know. But The St. Louis Post-Dispatch points out that one company of which Mr. Cummings is a director, the Maryland Casualty Company, got $17,500,000 from the R.F.C. and on that concern he gets ripe fees as a director and that his total "take" from these three plums is in the neighborhood of $90,000. And in addition to all this he is co-receiver of the Chicago Railways Company. So, as Mr. Cummings has practically nothing to do, the bank and the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul are sure of getting the benefit of ample time and service from him.

I forgot to add that a little time must be squeezed in for his duties as Treasurer of the Democratic Committee, just as Jim Farley squeezes in a moment or two each month from his heavy duties as Postmaster General to have a glance at the same committee and, of course, to get a report from Mr. Cummings, who gallops out of the offices of the Continental, the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the American Car and Foundry Company, the Chicago and West Farms Railways, the Brill Corporation, the Chicago Railways Company and other corporate lairs to give Mr. Farley the latest dope on the state of the party's pie.

But it all proves that the administration is still holding fast to its drive against large salaries and against the predatory corporation executive. "How to Hold Down Corporation Salaries," by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Jesse Jones, deserves to take its place on Mr. Kirby's Five Foot Shelf with Ogden Mills's "Liberalism Fights On."

Add this to the great battle for social security. In St. Louis last week I found the officials paying out the first old-age pensions to its grateful septuagenarians. The payments ranged from $7 to $12 a month. The newspapers in St. Louis called attention to the fact that Missouri was

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Mr. Baxter and Mr. Ford

GOOD PICTURES are for once really piling up too thick to be reviewed, imagine the embarrassment of a reviewer. I am already behindhand with one first-rate film ("The Petrified Forest"), one middling good film ("Next Time We Love"), two partly good musicals ("Follow the Fleet" and "King of Burlesque"), and with "The Trail of the Lonesome Pine," done in color and a bath of tears, but good enough and bad enough to make good target practice for a column and a half, ordinarily. But there is a picture abroad that takes precedence over these others: "The Prisoner of Shark Island," a natural, one of the best. The story is about Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, who innocently repaired Booth's leg after the shooting of Lincoln, and was made a national scapegoat for it, sent to Dry Tortugas for life. It is a good story for the screen, its action being direct and plentiful, and far enough removed in time and implication so that injustice can be handled straight, with no need for temporizing and prettification. It still could have been made stiff and dull—who has not seen this done? The main credit for the show, that is, goes to the various factors of its production.

In the beginning was Nunnally Johnson's script, a bit of screen writing that—although a little too unpretentious and right to come in for awards at the end of the year—will certainly stand up among the year's best. A good ring to the dialogue, a steady, smooth flow of continuity, and everywhere an unassuming assurance, maturity, native good sense. It passes over the usual snares for unwary overwriters—the comedy on the stage, Mudd's address to the court or to the Negro soldiers, Lincoln's balcony speech, verdicts, commands, the language of mutineers and court-martial boards—as though they weren't there; it has what is rarely found in the movies or on the stage, the soundness of a workmanlike book.

As far as the expense of putting this on goes, they do not seem to have spared the horses, the background being as logical and persuasive with atmosphere in the 1865 countryside as in the prison on Dry Tortugas, in Ford's Theatre as in the doctor's home. And they apparently got the right man to work on these materials, director John Ford, whose genius shows in the management not only of the action, but of the actors in it, so that the routine parts of Ernest Whitman, John Carradine, Claude Gillingwater, Harry Carey, O. P. Heggie and even the child Joyce Kay, mean something and come to something, slip into the story with a complete absence of all the usual business of entrances, takes, scenery chewing.

There is a guiding hand visible in the rejuvenation of such stock situations as that where the fiery Southern colonel is introduced, haranguing from the head of a table in all oratorical splendor before an audience that is revealed—the camera opening back on the fine imposing room—as the colonel's little granddaughter, barely able to reach up to the hominy grits on her plate; and in the part where the colonel's blood is at a final boil and he digs up his good sword, flourishing it tremendously as he

Ford is the one who is responsible for the way the action moves from the establishment of the period to the assassination and getaway, the resetting of Booth's leg and subsequent apprehension of Mudd, the trial (there was some very clever work here, although the execution scenes might have been telescoped), Mudd's prison life and near escape and final service during the plague. The escape sequence is among the most vivid and somber that have been made—Warner Baxter (as Mudd) loose somewhere inside the heavy sultry walls, suspicion rising, the guard being broken out, and the angle shots of Baxter climbing desperately up and over the stones toward the moat, where he is finally silhouetted clearly in the rifle sights. The oppressive hysterical atmosphere of the yellow-jack siege is felt in the audience; and the whole business of the prison is made terrible with authentic detail—stilted quick-time of the guard, the dead murderous heat and its effect on the men, the thick walls, the surf off-stage, the empty iron routine of the guard room, even the bugles sounding, the rifles locked properly in their racks. The mechanical sharks and some of the water scenes provide a slight jarring of reality; but mostly the picture is complete and sound in its illusion.

It would not, however, have been possible in its present strength without the main figure of Warner Baxter, who rises out of his former halfway pictures (or worse) into an absolutely first-class piece of acting. The story of this country doctor caught in the machinery of large matters is wide and complex and he is in the center of it—tender, furious, bitter, suffering, plain tired, whatever is needed. He carries the demands of the part with solid strength and subtlety of shading, and it should also be remembered that he is under the handicap of a dialect part here, managing it shrewdly, holding himself down to the indication of difference by certain easy but consistent verbal habits, rather than trying to ape the whole impossible range of rhythms and vowel music that such a part entails.

But too much taking to pieces may very well obscure the real effect of the assembled whole. "The Prisoner of Shark Island" is a powerful film, rarely false or slow, maintaining the relentless cumulative pressure, the logical fitting of one thing into another until the audience is included in the movement and carried along with it in some definite emotional life that is peculiar to the art of motion pictures at its best.

"King of Burlesque" is about the best musical since "The Gay Divorcée," which has never been equaled. And this is for reasons connected mostly with the story. The music is nothing special (the house-band swings out with some pretty good background stuff, though); the dancing is even less. But they handle the old synthetic situations somehow as though they believed them a little, they have Warner Baxter and they have Jack Oakie, who if given enough rope could hang everyone in the cast. Oakie is one of the fine fellows of the screen, and with such national busts around as Mr. Jolson, or Mr. Jessel, or Mr. Cantor, it is something of a pity that a man who can play a part with such good-fellowship, rough charm and out-and-out, sure-fire comedy should be so complacently passed over by

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CORRESPONDENCE

General Johnson Objects

SIR: In The New Republic for January 22, under a heading "Washington Notes" signed T.R.B., you say " . . . General Hugh S. Johnson of the N.R.A., and George W. Peek of the A.A.A. . . . were nominees of the big-money Democrat group," etc., etc.

I suppose this grew out of the fact that I used to work for B. M. Baruch. The statement is completely untrue. The President never consulted Mr. Baruch in appointing me. Mr. Baruch thought, and I thought, and at the same time said publicly, that the acceptance of the appointment was suicidal and Mr. Baruch was too good a friend of mine to want me to take it. I took it against both his wishes and his advice. If you will cast your mind back over 1933, you will agree that I was as near poison to the "big-money group" as anybody in this administration.

Washington, D. C. HUGH S. JOHNSON.

SIR: I do not wish to imply that General Johnson's conspicuous abilities had no part in his selection as head of the N. R. A. However, I am convinced that Mr. Roosevelt was also guided by General Johnson's acceptability to a number of large contributors to the Democratic campaign fund. Surely General Johnson will not contend that he was "poison" to the electrical-machinery industry, the textile industry and several other big-business groups?

Washington, D. C. T. R. B.

Requiem for Public Housing

SIR: The death of public housing has been proclaimed several times during the past few weeks. The ruling of the Comptroller General that the P.W.A. cannot give grants without specific authorization by Congress puts urban rehousing at rest, for it is not conceivable that Congress will pass any such legislation in an election year. And "unofficially" The New York Times announced that the administration was through, and going to depend on the Committee for Economic Recovery, the F.H.A., Peter Grimm and other methods of promoting private enterprise to take suckers for a ride. That is, assuming the suckers are going to be able to pay their fare, which is far from a fair assumption.

Mr. Allie S. Freed's organization for self-recovery states that 85 percent of housing belongs in the field of private enterprise, properly subsidized and guaranteed against loss by the government. The remaining 15 percent the government can do itself, thank you, and bad luck to it. However, with 85 percent of the families of 62 cities earning less than $2,500 per year (R.P.I. report) the eminent automobile manufacturer seems to have his ratios twisted.

Mr. Freed also believes in the motto What England Has Done We Can Do. The trouble is he misrepresents—or misunderstands—what England has done. There has been a private building "boom" in England as an end result of a program of public building, a temporary boom which no serious English economist believes for a moment will last, which has not caused the English government to lessen its efforts in public housing. A "Memorandum on Housing and Slum Clearance Campaign," by Hugh Quigly of the Economic Section of the Electrical Development Association—hardly a leftist outfit even by A. Smith's sub-standards—written in 1934 discusses the then incipient boom and the future in great detail. He predicted that although the government program would continue as planned, private enterprise would fall off in 1936, and continue to fall. He estimates private construction will do about 180,000 dwellings in 1936, against 220,000 in 1935, falling to 100,000 in 1938. He adds, after showing the extent of planned government work:

> The only uncertain element in the situation is the work carried out by private enterprise, and this is certain to be influenced by the competition of the houses built under state subsidy. There is also the consideration that saturation point is rapidly . . . building which has been caused by low interest rates and low costs will come to an end in 1936 and rapidly die down.

A report in The London Economist of October 26 and November 2, 1935, proceeds by a different method of analysis to arrive at the same conclusions as to the future.

In 1934 and 1935 the English government built about 130,000 low-rent dwelling units. In the same period the P.W.A. has built about 3,000, and they are not low-rent, but low-dividend. (A measly six percent.)

It seems worth while, at this time, to call attention to these things, as a sort of funeral oration for public housing. It seems safe to look forward to valiant attempts to reopen the speculative market to Mr. Freed and his friends, and to reflect that not all is lost. You cannot, as has been said, skim cream off twice: we have already skimmed it in 1928-29, and there is no more milk to skim because the old cow has had no grass, not even in the streets.

However, Mr. Freed and his allies should worry. They will be secure behind government guarantees that sour cream is sweet, and good old Uncle Sam can contine to pull dry teats while the public moos discontentedly.

Goodbye! Talk to you about housing in 1942!

Washington, D. C. HENRY S. CHURCHILL.

"Dangerous Thoughts" in Honolulu

SIR: Fear of "dangerous thoughts" does not seem to be confined to Japan; it is shared by the postal authorities of our own colonies.

My wife and I, last December, sent a bulky four-page mimeographed Christmas letter to our numerous friends in Hawaii, and sealed the flaps of some of the envelopes with anti-war stickers. A friend in Honolulu has just written:

"Another thing, save your 'War Stamps' for Coast people. The postal authorities clipped the envelope partly open to inspect the contents. They saw a white circular but expected something red."

Before receiving my friend's letter I had discounted reports of tampering with the mails in the Honolulu post office.

New Haven, Conn. JOHN E. REINECKE.

A Way to Get the Truth

SIR: That Raskob letter is a boomerang. The men are passing around the paper and the beautiful steel die work to illustrate the lavish expense of the thing. The inevitable question arises among them, whose liberty? The letter might as well have been written by Rockefeller or J. P. Morgan.

The way the men got together in little groups to discuss it gave a new importance to the letter. Why is not this time to begin a movement like the German underground plan for the dissemination of facts? There is a widespread mistrust of the newspapers and a sincere desire to get the truth. But where are men to get it if they cannot subscribe to The New Republic and such sources of information? If a very clearly and simply worded statement dealing with various phases of our situation today could be sent out periodically to certain individuals, and handed on from small group to small group, it should be a timely method of combatting the flood of vicious propaganda workingmen are subject to. Most all men want to know the facts, they want to be right, and they will quietly vote right if they know what is right. The universal problem today is how to get at the heart of things and know the straight of them.

If a group of entirely trustworthy students should compile these facts, using "government figures" and quoting the words and sources for their facts, the periodical letters could be their own authority. Nobody but the names and sources given as authorities need to be responsible or appear as sponsors for the thing.

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a state of constant fear for their jobs. At the present time they are frankly liberals in their political and economic thinking. But a few more months of false information through the daily papers will weaken them and stir up misgivings that will lead them to vote for Hoover in the fall.

Flint, Mich. M. O. N.

A Memorial for Geddes

SIR: Sir Patrick Geddes died in 1932. Those who are best qualified to judge his work look upon Geddes as one of the great seminal minds of our time: a man whose influence will be even greater in the future than it was in his own lifetime. As biologist, as sociologist, as educator, as town planner, as logician and philosopher, Geddes was a pathfinder who opened up new territories and who consolidated hitherto dispersed and unrelated advances. Like Leonardo, Geddes left behind him a vast mass of unpublished notes and papers, most of which have now been gathered together in the Outlook Tower at Edinburgh—the remains of a sociological museum and laboratory that he founded.

Funds are now needed to endow the Tower itself as a permanent institution, and to provide for the editing of Geddes' manuscripts, so that they may be made available to students, as well as to ensure their publication. Six months ago a memorial committee, including such names as Henri Bergson, D'Arcy Thompson, J. L. Myres, Bernard Shaw and Raymond Unwin, made an appeal in England for funds. So far the response has been inadequate. As a disciple and friend of Geddes' I am therefore making this appeal in America to those who understand the value of Geddes' work and wish to help propagate his influence.

Five thousand pounds are needed. Contributions should be forwarded to Sir Thomas B. Whitson, 21 Rutland Street, Edinburgh, Scotland. May I at the same time ask those who were in correspondence with Geddes, or who have valuable recollections about his life, to forward letters and personal reminscences to the Hon. Secretary, The Outlook Tower, Castlehill, Edinburgh. Letters will be transcribed and duly returned to the owners.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

Long Island City, N. Y.

Maimonides and the Talmud

SIR: In a recent issue of The New Republic, there appeared a review by Dr. Harry Lewis of my book "Maimonides—A Biography" in which he says: "Thus, he supposes the modern Zionist movement was anticipated when Maimonides favored Jewish self-government in the Diaspora under secular leadership." This point of view was never expressed in the book. Everyone who is fairly well acquainted with Jewish history knows that the Jews in Babylonia under the Persian rule, and later under the Arabs, enjoyed self-government. There was always strife between those who represented the secular authority, and the Gaon, who was the religious head. Maimonides maintained that the leadership of the Jews should be vested in a man of secular authority, like the Exilarch, and not in the Gaon, the spiritual leader. . . .

Philadelphia, Pa. SOLOMON ZEITLIN.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Frances McClernan of New York City calls attention to the plight of agricultural workers who so often are "specifically exempt" from the provisions of social-security legislation. Relief policies are frequently shaped to make agricultural workers accept practically starvation wages offered by local farmers by threatening to remove workers from relief rolls if they do not take whatever employment is available. She says that agricultural workers in southern New Jersey have had considerable success in organizing in defense of their rights and she thinks this movement should be encouraged on a nationwide scale.

Ernest Besig, director of the Northern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, sends news of a particularly flagrant aftermath of the tar-and-feather incident in Santa Rosa [illegible]. The two chief victims of this fascistic outburst, Jack alleged leaders of the mob. The local A.C.L.U. Branch, which has offices in the Mills Building, San Francisco, is calling for an official investigation of the entire affair.

Theodore Halperin of East Boston, Massachusetts, has a word of prai e for the Workers' Schools which are held in most of the large cities throughout the country and which give valuable courses in contemporary subjects at very low cost. . . . M. A. Cowing is a great admirer of the work of Dr. John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church in New York City and thinks that progressives should rally to his support and make it possible for him to be heard on the radio.

Percy Shostac, as chairman, announces the setting up of headquarters for the United Committee to Aid Vermont Marble Workers at 218 East Twelfth Street, New York City. . . . Members of the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City, are urging interested persons to write to Governor Sholtz of Florida and Mayor Chancey of Tampa, calling for vigorous prosecution of the persons guilty of the recent kidnaping and beating in which Joseph Shoemaker was killed and two others were seriously injured. The Committee has prepared a pamphlet entitled "Tampa—Tar and Terror" giving the entire history of the affair.

Hyman N. Glickstein, attorney for Anna Lyons, worker in the Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City who was discharged allegedly because she agitated for better working conditions for the staff and whose case aroused widespread interest, is pleased to report that the Hearings Board has ordered Miss Lyons reinstated.

Wallace S. Thomas of Springfield, Ohio, thinks that industrial unions and craft unions are mutually indispensable and proposes a plan on which their activities may be united. He likens the labor struggle to a military struggle and says that an army corps contains diverse units such as infantry, artillery, aircraft, etc., operating toward a common goal, and is organized with a general staff consisting of a representative of each arm of the service composing the corps. He suggests that labor should be organized on industrial lines, with each industrial unit having a representative of the major craft divisions within that unit as part of its directing staff.

A strikingly vivid presentation of the causes and effects of war has been presented in a pamphlet, "The Student Looks at War," prepared by students of the Fieldston School, 238th Street and Riverdale Avenue, New York City, which is the secondary education unit of the Ethical Culture Schools of New York City. . . . The Haldane Club, a society of English barristers and solicitors who are members of the English Labor Party, is holding an international conference of lawyers in London on April 25 and 26 and is inviting qualified attorneys from the United States to attend.

What's on the Air?

There are a good many things wrong with the radio in the United States, one of which is that in the enormous mass of material presented each day it is hard to pick out the few things which may be of special interest to any given individual. As a service to our readers we present below a selection of the speeches probably most worth hearing, to be broadcast on the national networks during the week in which this issue of The New Republic reaches its subscribers. We shall continue to publish such lists if the response from our readers indicates that they find the service valuable. All times given are Eastern Standard.—THE EDITORS.

Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, will be interviewed by Boake Carter. Feb. 28, 10:45 P.M., C.B.S.

Charles W. Cadman, Julia Peterkin and others speaking at a meeting of the Southeastern Folklore Society. Feb. 29, 11:30 A.M., N.B.C.-WEAF network.

Governor Landon of Kansas. Feb. 29, 10 P.M., C.B.S.

Chester Rowell, editor of The San Francisco Chronicle, on "The Freedom of the Press." March 3, 7:45 P.M., N.B.C.-WEAF.

Representative Amlie of Wisconsin debating Representative Keller of Kentucky on "The New Deal vs. The New Party." March 3, 10 P.M., N.B.C.-WJZ.

Carl H. Milam, secretary of the American Library Association on "Learning Through the Library" March 4, 2:30 P.M., N.B.C.-

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Mr. Behrman's Play

End of Summer, by S. N. Behrman. Guild Theatre, February 17, 1936.

IT MIGHT be profitable to compare this American comedy, "End of Summer" with "Call It a Day," the comedy from London. At the Theatre Guild's hands they are both cast and directed very well indeed. The comparison may be made by anyone, without our lumbering here upon it. The main point is that both these comedies manage to say something about life. The comment in "Call It a Day" is entirely luminous and solvent; everything in the play returns to something that rests on flexible compromise, on sweet, rational acceptance of life, and on good, if not insistent, common sense.

In "End of Summer" we find one quality at least that, for all this modern business of life that our drama presents, rarely comes off very well. The remark applies to British drama as well as to American. It is that whenever there is something to be said from the realm of theory or serious ideas, our drama in English becomes self-conscious and shy. The result is that we have a certain apologetic rhythm or manner by which is blurted out the serious thing to be said; or else we tend toward the academic, the dry, the prissy, the insistent or the boring moralistic. You get the impression finally that the English language and the Anglo-Saxon character are genuinely disconcerted by any desire to be definitely serious or intelligent; and that, when the play is realistic, if you are desirous of saying anything serious or important, you break your voice, hesitate, flick your boots with your riding whip, order tea or light a cigarette. We all know those dreadful moments in British drama when, after quite entertaining stretches of stage matter, the dramatist must make his point or text, and some poor actor has to undertake an auto-defeated statement of the case. He is embarrassed, we are embarrassed, and the theme, or text, or idea, remains stuck on to the play like a label only.

Pinero, borrowing Ibsen's scheme in somewhat the same way that an American department store might borrow from some Parisian designer, to fat advantage, sounded stuffed, though cleverly brief, whenever his high moral tags went on to his engaging stage matter. Even Shaw, far more of a person than Pinero, does not so very often manage to convey ideas except in terms of himself. It is only very rarely in his plays that we forget Shaw; the incandescence of his most remarkable stage moments is still apt to shine on him. Where the average playwright, hoping to be intelligent, is shy, Shaw, his ideas already confirmed by a decade of Continental thought that is new to his own audiences, insists and punches.

I will not say that Mr. Behrman in "End of Summer" —of his plays the most equally distributed both in intellectual accent and in emphasis—is deeper, wittier or more sheerly effective than Shaw. But I do say that he has by now discovered a way in which to embody ideas that, as a method, is an advance on Shaw. Every character in this new play presents a conception, as well as a clear delineation from all the other characters. The ideas current in our everyday life [illegible] into a character due its separate essence. As a personage, Shaw, with something to express or batter or promote, remains more impressive, apostolic and distinct. You might, for example, compare him with Jeremiah, except that he is less rapt or exalted, less consumed, sacrificial and violently static. Whatever Shaw fights for, mocks or enlivens, bears yet to an extent the reminder of himself, so that Jeremiah's God would have deemed him not so much chosen as trig. Mr. Behrman by now in "End of Summer" has discovered artistic solutions of which Mr. Shaw is incapable, solutions more distributed and alive.

As a personality, a force, an evangel of this, that or the other, Mr. Behrman might, in my opinion, study the strong persons and forces of modern life and thought, choosing such thinkers and spirits as might feed his content and accelerate or define his impact. Taking him as a theatre artist, I can only suggest to him that he might study Molière. I leave this as a final compliment to Mr. Behrman. In "End of Summer" he has already at least discovered the nature of that bath of humor within which Molière can create his matter and its whole sum. And he has already acquired that ease and indirectness in serious statement that Molière, among divers Continental dramatists, knew, and that our English-speaking theatre for generations has been nervous and inept about.

The story of "End of Summer" is simple enough and yet too involved for any brief article to do anything but a travesty upon it. Into her Maine summer home, one of several, Leonie Frothingham has introduced the Russian, Boris, Count Mirsky, as a lover and a recipient of her personal and fiscal bounty. She is rich by inheritance from the early pioneering days in oil, and she has had her way, avid of life, buccaneering in pleasure, brilliance and men's love, as her parents had been with regard to the West, money, material consummation and crowding out obstacles. There appears on the scene the Freudian doctor, very well written as scattered among his own origin, his impulses, and his impertinent science so often employed for personal uses. There is also a daughter, tinged with a new movement in college and boasting an Amherst fiancé who mistrusts and dreads the effects of money on his integrity. With a friend, he is planning to start a liberal magazine.

The last curtain shows Leonie, still charming and giddily real and capable of life but disillusioned as to this latest adventure, backing the magazine. Mr. Behrman does not underscore the point that in her hunger for life, as the one substance vital to us, this woman is led to follow life's current, and that this current just now goes with these young men, who in their turn are driven to upset the very system that makes her able to promote their ends. It is here an argument, both witty and poignant, in Leonie's favor and plumage, to say that life follows life. Only a slight further accent on the dramatist's part would make this a curiously brilliant dénouement for his comedy. As to high seriousness, et cetera, we may say that Mr. Behrman, by taking sides with life but not with any one epoch or movement, may be denied prophecy and fervor, but at the same time escapes from what could easily become mere fatuity.

On the directing and acting in this Theatre Guild pro-

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Homage to Ancestors

WHEN I was in my twenties, it seemed that the principal ambition of the younger writers was to break cleanly and completely with literary traditions. Every author over forty was regarded as a false prophet to be exposed and derided; every existing work of art was an idol to be smashed. Among the in-tumbled walls of museums and the embers of libraries, the new artists proposed to build themselves each a purely personal monument, depending on nothing that existed before. . . . Things have changed since then, and traditions have been effectively broken—not by poets in their weakness, but rather by the force of world events, the end of capitalist prosperity, the coming of depressions, wars and revolutions during which a new attitude toward art was not only desirable but irresistible. The authors against whom we revolted in 1920 now seem figures in a distant, rather desirable past; the new writers who followed us are trying to rediscover their literary ancestors. Even the Symbolist poets and novelists, lately buried in abuse, are now being praised as precursors of communism.

It is only four years since Edmund Wilson published his "Axel's Castle," which gave the effect of being a long obituary of the Symbolist movement. At that time the movement still enjoyed a wide prestige. Wilson prophesied that the pendulum would swing back from Symbolism to Naturalism; "we may live," he said, "to see Valéry, Eliot and Proust displaced and treated with as much intolerance as those writers—Wells, France and Shaw—whom they have themselves displaced." Indeed, we had lived only a year before Valéry, Eliot and Proust were being treated with an intolerance of which Wilson certainly did not approve, and against which he had tried to create a line of defense. He had suggested that the Symbolists might be fitted into a permanent structure of literary tradition if we disregarded their social beliefs and instead considered their manner of writing. The new language they had painfully created "might actually have the effect," Wilson said, "of revolutionizing our ideas of syntax, as modern philosophy seems to be tending to discard the notion of cause and effect." This turned out to be a bad guess. Symbolist technique is not being widely discussed by contemporary writers, and it is being copied hardly at all. But Stephen Spender suggests in his book of essays, "The Destructive Element,"[1] that the social beliefs of the Symbolists are extremely pertinent to our present situation.

By this he does not mean that their solutions can be studied and adopted. But their problems, he says, are practically the same as our own; in this sense Henry James, T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden are representatives of a single great tradition. All of them are dealing with a political or moral subject, that of our relation to contemporary life. All of them are "faced by the destructive element; that is, by the experience of an all-pervading Present, which is a world without belief." Most of them have tried to create another world that would correspond to their own sense of values.

Spender suggests that they have approached the problem in three different ways. Writers like Henry James and D. H. Lawrence have tried in different fashions to *escape* from the corrosive hopelessness of modern life—James by renewing the values of the past and Lawrence by returning to a happy savagery. A second category of writers, including T. S. Eliot at the time he wrote "The Waste Land," were too brave to run away and too discouraged to fight against their times: they simply "immersed themselves in the destructive element." A third path is now being followed by writers like C. Day Lewis and Edward Upward, whose values are based on the future of society instead of its past, and who look forward to a revolution that will remove what Upward calls "the more obvious material evils" of the world. This is the path that Spender himself would obviously like to follow.

He regards himself as a socialist, but only after defining the term in a curiously inverted fashion. "The socialist artist," he says, "is concerned with a change of heart. He is not primarily concerned with ways and means, and he is not paralyzed by the argument that the economic system is rigid. The economic system was made for man, and not man for the economic system; so that if man changes—that is to say, if he has a new and strong conception of justice—the economic system will also change." This cardiac socialism, as it might be called, is almost the exact opposite of Marxian socialism, which sets out to change the heart of man by changing the economic system. Spender offers two objections to Marxism as it is practised today. One is that Communist writers are too rigid in their beliefs and too certain of the future; he thinks that the true artist should maintain an attitude of flexibility and doubt. His second objection is that psychology also gives an explanation of the world, almost as complete and self-contained as the explanation offered by communism. He thinks that Marx and Freud should somehow be harmonized—and, at the end of his long discussion, he brings forward W. H. Auden as an artist who has combined the two methods and who is therefore entitled to the full heritage of Henry James.

This summary does considerably less than justice to a book that is full of excitement for anyone interested in the problems of contemporary writing. The truth is that Spender makes himself hard to summarize. He has an intuitive rather than a logical mind; often he knows the answers we are seeking without being able to show us how he reached them. His intuition makes him a marvelously sympathetic expounder and explicator of other men's work—especially that of Henry James, on whom he has written the best long essay that is anywhere available. But there is one point at which I think his intuition leads him far astray, and that is in his proposal that the doctrines of Freud and those of Marx should be combined in modern poetry. Psychoanalysis as a social theory—something it often becomes—is fundamentally opposed to Marxism, and no poet or prose writer has ever succeeded in making a synthesis of the two. Auden, for example, is vaguely psychoanalytical at one moment and harshly revolutionary at another; in neither mood does he make himself quite convincing, in spite of his talent. Moreover, we are all of us getting tired of English critical essays that accurately describe the errors of the past and end with a flourish by pulling a white-haired Auden out of a black silk hat. He is a good poet, yes, he has something close to genius, but he

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Liberalism's Family Tree

Liberalism and Social Action, by John Dewey. New York: Minton, Balch and Company. 101 pages. $1.50.

DR. DEWEY'S new book is divided into three chapters: on the history of liberalism, on the crisis in liberalism, and on "renascent liberalism." About the topic of liberalism, the author groups the cultural values he most admires. His book is written to show with what important and desirable traits liberalism can be identified. He goes through a cycle of virtues, such as peace, liberation, "the development of the inherent capacities of individuals made possible through liberty," tolerance, reintegration, science, rationality, education, charity, courage and hope—and he pleads that liberalism, as he conceives it, can be included in this cycle.

As a way of beginning his series, he selects an ancestry for liberalism. He sketches its history briefly and suggests a theory of origins:

> The use of the words liberal and liberalism to denote a particular social philosophy does not appear to occur earlier than the first decade of the nineteenth century. But the thing to which the words are applied is older. It might be traced back to Greek thought; some of its ideas, especially as to the importance of the free play of intelligence, may be found notably expressed in the funeral oration attributed to Pericles. But for the present purpose it is not necessary to go back of John Locke, the philosopher of the "glorious revolution" of 1688. The outstanding point of Locke's version of liberalism is that governments are instituted to protect the rights that belong to individuals prior to political organization of social relations.

In this citation, Dr. Dewey seems to bring up the possibility that we have the choice of two different family trees in charting the history of liberal manifestations. If we mean by liberalism a "particular social philosophy," the author finds that "for the present purpose it is not necessary to go back of John Locke." But if we mean simply "the thing to which the words are applied," he finds it possible to begin the family tree with classic Greece. Indeed, since he situates such liberalism in "ideas as to the importance of the free play of intelligence," and since such ideas can obviously be found in periods antedating Greece or in cultures independent of Greece, the attempt to chart all the ancestors in this second family tree might carry us far beyond the "funeral oration attributed to Pericles."

In Dr. Dewey's first chapter he is concerned solely with the briefer, historic ancestry of liberalism. Here he shows the organic connection between liberalism and the rise of business enterprise. He recounts the negativistic, atomistic, "muckraking" elements in liberal thought, demonstrating why the liberal philosophies were much better fitted for sweeping away old resistances than for building up a new positive integration. He traces the ways in which the liberals' doctrines of individual rights were made negotiable in removing the restrictions upon profit and trade. He shows why such theories can be called liberal despite the tremendous cramping of opportunity they necessitate at present. But when admitting that liberalism, as so conceived, is now owned and managed by the reactionaries of the Liberty League, he notes a "split" in liberal philosophy. This split was caused in part, he shows, by the surprising contributions which various brands of Tories made to the maturing of liberal philosophy "in alliance with evangelical piety and with romanticism" and late[illegible]

In contrast with the older liberalism, the coöperative aspects of society were now stressed, and the demand for control through social legislation became uppermost. One may question whether this revision of liberal emphasis could properly be called liberalism at all. But it is what the author advocates as liberalism, and the names of historic phenomena are not ordained.

The important consideration from my point of view is that, precisely where this "split" occurs, we covertly shift from the short family tree to the long family tree as the basis on which liberalism (the collective, social-legislation kind) is advocated. For somewhat in line with Veblen's distinction between business and industry, we are told that the really dynamic factor in the development of modern history is not business, or capitalism, with its attendant problem of the "class struggle," but scientific method as objectified in technology. Behind this method lies the functioning of "intelligence" in general. The function of intelligence is, among other things, to integrate old material and new material (to "mediate" the change of status), and this integrative or mediating function is called upon at every period of history. Now, if "liberalism," as "intelligence," is identified with an integrative or mediating function that operates in *every* period of history, we have obviously gone from the short family tree to the long family tree, plus extensions far beyond or beneath Periclean Athens. The implied origin is not temporal, but universal, as the integrative work of intelligence goes on, *mutandis mutatis,* in all eras.

I think too that the ancestry undergoes still deeper extensions without avowal on the author's part, as his conception of scientific method becomes colored with connotations of love or charity. When one notes that a prizefighter's skillful left swing to the jaw may be good intelligent pragmatic science, one questions just how Dr. Dewey manages to introduce non-violent, non-coercive requirements into his notions of scientific method. He *implies* a difference in kind between the use of a chemical to eliminate vermin and the use of a chemical to eliminate human rivals, but his *explication* is vague at this important juncture. Particularly in view of the fact that Dr. Dewey usually celebrates scientific achievement as a "conquest," we become aware that, when applied to people, his idea of scientific method is not merely that of a *power* but adds hidden connotations of charity or solidarity usually connected with religion, ethics or poetry.

Again, when Dr. Dewey celebrates liberalism as the opportunity for the "development of the inherent capacities of individuals," we realize that there is some such adjective as "good" or "wholesome" implied before the word "capacities." If the adjective were explicitly there and if the attendant steps made necessary by its explicit presence were inserted, or if the author's merging of science as technique with science as a charitable attitude towards people were made the express subject of analysis and rationalization, Dr. Dewey's volume would be more enlightening. As it stands, it seems essentially Ciceronian. It serves primarily as a lawyer's brief, in that it persuades without exposing the crucial steps in its persuasion. Philosophic tracts, if they are of worth, seek to persuade; but the difference between them and Ciceronian exhortation, it seems to me, is that they try at the same time to expose their methods of persuasion. I question whether Dr. Dewey could be said to meet this test fairly so long as the ambiguity as regards "family trees" remains at the keystone of his treatise.

However, as Dr. Dewey warns us in his introduction, a writer cannot say everything at once. And certainly the

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books as "Experience and Nature" and "The Quest for Certainty," books that, for this reader at least, did a lot of eye-opening. Yet some of the same ambiguity seems to lie at the roots of these also. When one talks of "functions," one necessarily brings in non-historic assumptions of structure. The "function of intelligence" belongs to the long family tree, quite as does the "function of the heart." History may tell us how the heart beat faster on a given day. But behind the effect of that given day, there lies a property of hearts, a "heart function," that is not historical in the same sense at all. The attempt to divorce philosophy from metaphysics will always, I suspect, be merely a protective screen for the setting up of metaphysical assumptions.

KENNETH BURKE.

The Way of an Adventurer

The Way of a Transgressor, by Negley Farson. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 612 pages. $3.

TAKE OUT a map, pair off places with events—Russia and the Revolution, Ireland and the De Valera elections, Turkey and the Mosul oil affair, Gandhi and Civil Disobedience—add a whiff of life and a fiery personality and you have the main ingredients of Negley Farson's autobiography, the Literary Guild selection for March.

Negley Farson was adopted and brought up by a grand old fellow who had served four terms in Congress and spent the rest of his life pushing creditors from his doorstep. After a fling at athletics, rewarded with many gold medals, and after sporadic schooling in nine institutions, Farson was graduated as engineer from the University of Pennsylvania. His first exciting world experience found him in Tsarist Russia; it was at the outset of the War. He planned to stay three weeks; he stayed three years.

When the Bastille was stormed in 1789 Louis XVI wrote in his diary *"Rien."* He was alluding to his failure in the hunt. The diary of Nicolas II finds him so equally far from suspecting catastrophe that he was writing: "Walked along and killed two crows. Drank tea by daylight." But Farson's was an intuitive mind. In 1917 when crowds in Petrograd collected on the Nevsky he shouted "Revolution!" And revolution it was. He had been sent to Russia to sell war supplies to the Technical Department. Corruption was rampant. German concerns were working through Stockholm to sell ammunitions to the Allies, and graft was such that nine intermediaries between Farson and the War Department hindered him from placing contracts. Meanwhile every second Russian regiment was marching to the front without rifles and, although food was rotting in warehouses along the Neva, bread lines two blocks long were forming in the streets of Petrograd.

Negley Farson was in his early twenties. He watched these things, but from the outside. Cafés and Polish cocottes were making his life a riotous holiday. When he said goodbye to Russia to fly for the British, he left many hostages of affection behind. Pity had made him an emotional chameleon, and later he was to write: "I could feel neither right nor left but merely upside down." Proof is, that he could sign up as an aviation instructor in Denikin's army, yet write articles about Lenin which the New York press branded as Red and refused to print.

Then came an airplane crash in Egypt. It gave him three years' time-out in hospitals "to think it over." It also gave him his first crack at writing. After that he still [illegible] a plaster-cast leg in the Shetlands, and sailing 3,600 miles across Europe in his own boat with his English wife. He had sold this last idea to Lawson of The Chicago Daily News; Lawson engaged him as foreign correspondent and he spent the next eleven years nosing into the political pantries of Europe and Asia. He was to return to Soviet Russia, write a book on what he saw, and proclaim that if he were born again, he would choose Russia as his birthplace. He was to meet many men—Roosevelt, Sarraut, John Reed, Lenin, Baldwin, Gandhi and others—and to live one of the most exciting lives a man can live.

His book has been compared to those of Vincent Sheean and Walter Duranty. But these are journalists who take the "long view," with breathing spaces between paragraphs for coördination and thought. Farson has written an adventure story without focusing the events that march through his book. Duranty and Sheean are interested in those events where "large numbers of men are engaged in some difficult enterprise involving a fundamental idea." Farson is interested in the *fait divers*. Although he shows unusual foresight into certain political moves of England and Japan, his book contains too much material for a thoroughgoing exposition of any one situation. It is a bird's-eye view with the bird perpetually flitting to the next tree. But nothing can rival the pungency and tempo and humor of these stories; which reveal, moreover, Mr. Farson's generous and engaging personality.

FRANCES VALENSI.

The Problem of Race

Race Differences, by Otto Klineberg. New York: Harper and Brothers. 367 pages. $2.50.

FOR THOSE who wish an evaluation of the current hypotheses regarding racial differences, based upon a keen analysis of recent work in the study of race, Dr. Klineberg's book cannot be too highly recommended. With its publication, there becomes available a simply phrased, well written compendium that far outranks any recent work in the field. Not the least congenial aspect of it is the restraint with which the author comments on his material, so that in the case of most of the theories he considers, a critique is presented that is entirely convincing.

The book approaches its problem from biological, psychological and cultural points of view. Are there any racial differences in physical type that mark off specific groups of human beings as better or worse, higher or lower? What is the validity of attempts that have been made to distinguish races by reference to blood type, or to differing forms of glandular activity? What is the relation between physique and mentality? Are significant racial differences in growth to be discerned? Do races differ physiologically? Such are the most important questions asked in the first portion of the book. In the next section, we find discussions of problems such as whether or not races differ in the simpler psychological functions; what results of value have been derived from tests of racial intelligence; and whether psychological abnormalities are the mark of any one race more than of any other. In this part of the book, a consideration of race-crossing is also included, while the data that have sometimes been employed to stigmatize certain racial groups as being particularly predisposed toward crime are analyzed. In the final portion of his work, Dr. Klineberg discusses the relationship between race and culture, particularly the effect of culture and physical type in determining group traditions [illegible] The somewhat diffuse manner in

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FORMED in response to a nation-wide demand for a democratically-controlled, pro-labor consumer service, the CONSUMERS UNION OF UNITED STATES has been organized on a non-profit, membership basis:

1. To provide information in simple, usable form on consumers' goods, covering quality, price *and, wherever possible, labor conditions surrounding the production of such goods.*
2. To work with cooperatives, other consumer groups, and trade unions in advancing the welfare of consumers.
3. To aid consumers in all matters relating to the expenditure of income.

The establishment of CONSUMERS UNION was initiated by the Association of Consumers' Research Subscribers. Originally formed to attempt a fair settlement of the strike at Consumers' Research, the Association turned its attention to a new organization when it became clear that there was no hope of bringing about its original purposes through appeal to the directors of Consumers' Research. The strike emphasized the need, which already existed, for a pro-labor consumer organization, functioning on a broad social base, democratically controlled, and serving especially the worker, the low-salaried employee, and the housewife.

For over a month a staff of fourteen former C.R. strikers—experts in their fields—have been at work conducting and supervising technical research and preparing material for the first of CONSUMERS UNION'S publications, to be ready for members in the latter part of March.

CONSUMERS UNION needs, and believes it deserves, the support of every progressive and liberal-minded person. To build a first-rate consumers' organization from the ground up; to establish a permanent consumers' laboratory; to reach the thousands of people who heretofore have had no access to consumer information, but to whom the unwise spending of even one penny out of an inadequate income is a serious matter—to do all this takes money. The initial support for this enterprise must come from those who are already convinced of the need for it.

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The New Republic, February 12, 1936

"We wish it all success."
The Nation, February 12, 1936

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preceding ones, but the point the author wishes to make concerning the relative importance of culture, and the relative insignificance of race, is stated clearly and uncompromisingly.

Certain chapters of this book should be singled out for special mention. I know of no other single work containing such a succinct summary of the studies made concerning possible biochemical differences between peoples. The same is to be said for the author's consideration of bio-psychic types. His treatment of the results of racial intelligence testing is also excellent, while the discussion of a possible racial distribution of mental abnormalities makes absorbing reading. There are, however, certain approaches to the study of race one wishes had received consideration in this book. One of these has resulted from the research of German scholars into the characteristics of domesticated animals, and the possible significance, for the determination of human racial differences, of the fact that man is domesticated. The other constitutes one of Professor Boas' most important and least known contributions to the study of race—an attack on the problem that envisages a population as an aggregate of family lines rather than as a group of unrelated individuals who can be statistically classified into some given racial category.

It is to be hoped that this book will be widely circulated and carefully read. As perhaps never before, race constitutes a point of stress in world society, taking its place at the side of economic phenomena as a factor of overwhelming significance for the future. If the problems in this field are going to be solved, it will only be because the results of dispassionate scientific evaluations such as this of Dr. Klineberg's are heeded by those who must cope with the practical aspects of race and racial relations.

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Dennis' Desirable Fascism

The Coming American Fascism, by Lawrence Dennis. New York: Harper and Brothers. 333 pages. $2.50.

THE TROUBLE with Lawrence Dennis' "desirable" American fascism is that it sounds so awfully *un-American* and "furrin." I know that such charges are most often made against advocates of socialism and communism rather than against philosophers of extreme reaction; but no Marxist of the reddest stripe, facing the problem of capitalist power in this country, would dare to ignore so completely our native background and our hoariest memories. Like all Fascists, Dennis talks about returning to good old traditions, meanwhile overlooking some of the most convenient and longest-rooted, near at hand. Thus he passes over the great fact that for a century and a half the fundamental law of this old republic has reserved to itself the facility for calling up a tremendous reactionary *defense of property* by the Supreme Court (our House of Lords). Then, the restive masses of people—whether trade-unionists, farmers or unemployed—being dispersed with firm hand, the owner of large properties goes his way in peace; he is sheltered by laws which are weighted in his favor and which accord him the happiest measure of individual freedom conceivable in a pecuniary society.

Can any clever Fascist invent a more ingenious or comfortable tradition than that which is planted in our fundamental law? Why then should the average American business man ever dream of having any truck with political banditti in uniforms?

Lawrence Dennis in an earlier book made a brilliant and destructive analysis of finance capitalism. But in his present attempt to reorganize and reconstruct us he has been visionary and harshly doctrinaire. It is good that he has written down his credo, because now we may see that fascism never makes any sense when it is written out. It has to be sung.

The *real, working fascism*—differentiated from fascism in a book or lecture—is not a short cut or a panacea, we know by now; it is simply a new name for the same black reaction, using or dropping any old ideas or slogans that come to hand. But it is worse than Metternich or Louis Napoleon because it has the effrontery to parade a galimatias of pseudo-sociology mixed with brutality and nonsense such as the elder despots never dared use. One might be resigned to living under an old-fashioned despotism, for a time. But never under a gabbling Goebbels.

"The Coming American Fascism" is, then, a piece of special pleading, loosely written, redundant, filled with lawyers' arguments, many of which have a grain of common sense combined with bitter grams of cheap cynicism, and all of which can be freely debated. For example, Dennis explains to us the causes of German fascism by relating that the German Reich lost the War, lost its surplus wealth, suffered poverty under the Weimar Republic and therefore of necessity turned to the control of a military oligarchy—but the vicious circle *had begun* with military oligarchy, and returning to it, in the hands of the same Prussian officers, Germany must therefore reiterate the historical process of war and suffering. The argument, after Pareto, concerning the destined rising of a frustrated "out-élite" is of the same flimsy fabric. Dennis moreover has a fixation about short cuts through palace revolutions which one may get through playing a part in the high politics of Central

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believe with the Marxists that our present troubles flow from the oppression of the many by a small class that rules by force; his solution is to employ more and better oppression by still fewer people. This is a travesty of Machiavelli.

But the most awkward thing that our candid fascist apologist has done in his book is Chapter XX, "Fascism and Woman." Now any woman with good eyes can see—despite all sorts of elaborate reservations and half-hints—to what room in the house Mr. Dennis means to relegate her. If he had known America better, Mr. Dennis would have remembered that women are mighty in this land.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON.

Books in Brief

Voltaire, by Henry Noel Brailsford. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 256 pages. $1.25.

THE TWO hundred and fifty pages of Mr. Brailsford's packed little book do not challenge comparison with the full-length psychological portrait of Tallentyre's two-volume "Life," nor is his style an instrument of such subtle and brilliant shading as Strachey's in his dramatic essays; but Brailsford's study is highly significant. It is as a historian that he finds Voltaire preëminent, one who "brought to history the modern conception of causation" and made the earliest efforts at a history of civilization. So judged, rather than from the point of view of our contemporary monks of scholarship, "Voltaire was the first historian of modern Europe." His conscious philosophizing arrived at no systematic interpretation of historical movement, but his constant underlying assumption is materialistic, "that men act primarily on economic motives," an idea that seems to him so self-evident "that he fails to perceive its theoretical interest." This implicit anticipation of Marxism is everywhere apparent in his historical writing, especially in his "Essai sur les Moeurs," which Mr. Brailsford ranks with "Candide" as his greatest work. For Voltaire, however, history was not so much science as a weapon for attacking the problems of the future, an instrument for spreading liberal philosophy and reform. Realizing these facts, Mr. Brailsford does justice to this passionate reformer who, so far from being a cold and glittering intellect, was so intensely emotional that on the anniversary of St. Bartholomew he never failed to suffer from fever.

E. J.

The Lady of Bleeding Heart Yard: Lady Elizabeth Hatton, 1578-1646, by Laura Norsworthy. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 302 pages. $3.

Elizabeth Hatton was the noblewoman who left her bleeding heart in a yard when the Devil—the usual agreement having expired—called for her one night. This legend gave a London walk its name, but outlived the memory of the lady herself. Mrs. Norsworthy's resurrection of some very old bones was apparently prompted by womanly sympathy. In this book Mrs. Norsworthy has given us a sufficiently accurate picture of Stuart politics and manners, but the irony of Lady Hatton's influence on the inception of the Puritan Revolution remains unexplained. A more penetrating student would have been concerned with the significance of Lady Hatton as a social symbol; with the underlying circumstances that make it possible for a fairly intelligent dowager to be so disruptive a force on the life

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story, and that she has done with a good deal of wit and lightly carried learning. A. K.

American Women, edited by Durward Howes. Los Angeles: Richard Blank Publishing Company. 733 pages. $10.

A Who's Who of women distinguished for work in political, civic, educational and artistic fields, listing 6,214 biographies and intended "to record the advances made by women." The book also contains a list of national women's organizations and other organizations with which women are prominently identified.

Faster! Faster! by E. M. Delafield. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

This book is a comedy of auto-hypnosis, done with the suave ferocity that usually characterizes Miss Delafield's mockery of the Egotist Rampant. Seeing herself as the dynamic business woman, the non-interfering modern mother, Cynthia Winsloe exerts psychic pressure that deprives her husband of prestige except with his dog, and directs her children's experiences like billiard balls. When opportunity rudely bangs the doors of her husband and two daughters, she struggles to preserve the status quo, though her adult intimates present her with thumb-nail sketches of her motivation in doing so. Wounded, but not defeated, she is conveniently killed while putting on a Perfect Mother act—and everyone else proceeds rapidly and happily in his own direction. The accuracy of Miss Delafield's emotional thermostatics makes one feel that her books turn the small end of the telescope toward her talents. But—as in minimizing the pathos of Cynthia—she is inclined to beg important questions. S. J. R.

Contributors

CHARLES A. BEARD, distinguished historian, is the author, among other books, of "The Navy: Defense or Portent?" and "The Open Door at Home."

PAUL H. DOUGLAS recently resumed his duties as professor of Economics at the University of Chicago after an extensive tour of Europe.

JOHN PEALE BISHOP'S poems in this issue of The New Republic are included in a collection of his verse, "Minute Particulars," which is being published early in March by the Alcestis Press. His other books include "Now with His Love" (verse) and a novel, "Act of Darkness."

VITO MARCANTONIO, who succeeded Mayor LaGuardia as New York's Representative in Congress from the Twentieth District, was chairman of the subcommittee of the House Labor Committee to investigate the Gauley Bridge silicosis deaths.

RUBEN LEVIN is a Milwaukee newspaperman.

KENNETH BURKE is the author of a volume on esthetics, "Counter Statement," and a long essay, "Permanence and Change," which was published as a New Republic Dollar Book. He holds a Guggenheim Fellowship for 1935-36.

FRANCES VALENSI returned to America last summer after living abroad for nine years, traveling, studying, translating and writing for American publications.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS is professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University. For some years he has been engaged in a study of the results of physical and cultural contact between peoples, with special reference to the Negroes of Africa and the New World.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON is the author of biographies of Zola and Rousseau and of "The Robber Barons," a study of American capitalism in its great days after the Civil War.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Edgar Johnson, Alfred Kazin and Stella J. Roof.

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The Frustration of Science, a lecture by DAVID RAMSEY, under the auspices of the League of American Writers. Chairman, DR. MARK GRAUBARD. Monday, March 2nd, at 8:20, at Hotel Delano, 108 West 43rd St. Admission, 35c.

THE DANCE for the benefit of the Mays Strikers will be held March 7th instead of Feb. 29, at Union Hall, 54th St. and 8th Ave., N. Y., at 8.30 P. M.

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